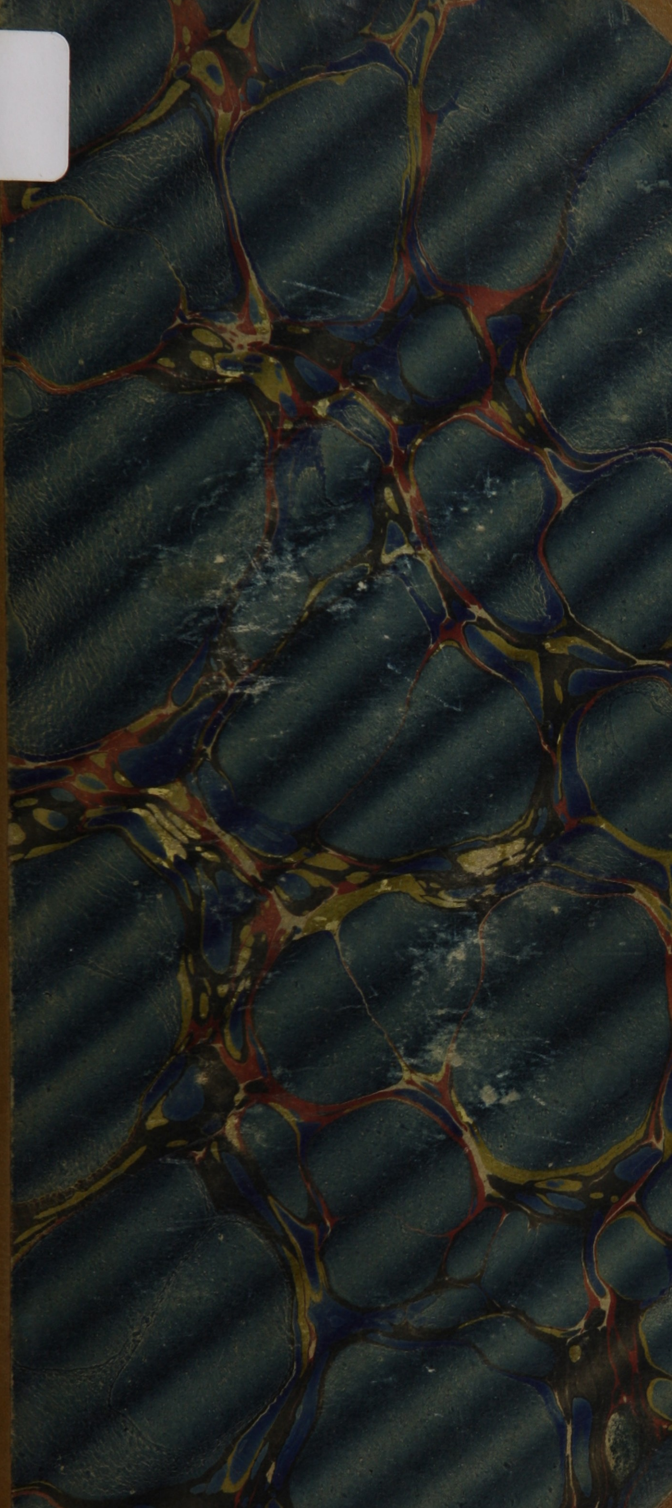


McGhee
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Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror

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George Crews Mc Ghee
United States Ambassador
to Turkey

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

RELIGION, LAW,

GOVERNMENT, AND MANNERS

OF THE

T U R K S.

THE SECOND EDITION,

Corrected and enlarged by the AUTHOR.

BY PORTER

To which is added,

The STATE of the TURKEY TRADE,

From its ORIGIN to the PRESENT TIME.

—*fas fit mihi visa referre.* OVID. Ep. xvi.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. NOURSE, Bookseller to H^{IS} MAJESTY.

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T H E
I N T E R P R E T A T I O N
O F
T U R K I S H A N D A R A B I C W O R D S ,
W H I C H

Usually occur in NARRATIVES concerning
the O T T O M A N Affairs.

AL Othman, the name of the Turkish nation, taken from the Emperor *Othman* *, or *Osman* the founder : this name is corrupted by the European writers into *Ottoman*. Thus we say the *Ottoman Porte* ; the *Porte* meaning the Gate of the Court to the Emperor's Seraglio or Palace. The Turks emphatically call that gate, *Bàbi Humayùn*, the Sublime Porte ; *Bàbi Adalit*, the Gate of Justice ; *Bàbi Seadet*, the Gate of Majesty ; *Bàbi* or *Dèri Deulet*, the Gate of Felicity ; and many other such pompous titles.

Padishà, the title given by the Turks to their Emperors, which answers to the name of Grand Seigneur, or Sultan.

Vizir Azem, Supreme Vizir, or Governor.

Kiehaia, Lieutenant, or Deputy to the Vizir.

Reis Effendi, High Chancellor, acting also as Secretary of State.

Tefterdar, Treasurer of the Empire.

Nishanji Basbi, Keeper of the Seals, who signs the Grand Seigneur's name.

* From Anno Domini 1219, to 1362.

Musti, signifies, properly, Interpreter of the Law; and is, also, the High Priest.

Kaimacam, officiates as *locum tenens* in the absence of the Vizir Azem.

Cadiulaskers, Lord Chief Justices in all cases: there are only two; one for Europe, and the other for Asia.

Selihtar Aga, Sword Bearer.

Cohadar Aga, Great Chamberlain, and Master of the Ward-robe.

Diulbend Aga, the officer who puts the turban on the Grand Seignor.

Imbrickdar Aga, the officer who brings water to the Sultan for ablutions before prayer.

Hoje, Tutor to the Sultan in his youth.

Hekim Bashî, head Physician to the Sultan. *Bashî*, applied to all officers, signifies the Chief or Head.

Berber Bashî, the head Barber.

Ferrah Bashî, the head Surgeon.

Rekadâr Aga, the officer who holds the stirrup for the Sultan to mount his horse

Buîuk Imrahôr, Great Master of the Horse.

Kuîuck Imrahôr, Second Master of the Horse.

Bostanji Bashî, Superintendant of the Gardens: when the Grand Signor goes by water, he steers the boat, or goes before in another to clear the way.

Kislar Aga, Overseer of the Ladies, a black Eunuch.

Hafnadâr Bashî, Private Treasurer, or Purse-bearer to the Grand Seignor; also an Eunuch.

Hafsky Sultana, the Royal Lady, she who first bears a son to the Grand Seignor.

Validè Sultana, the Lady who is Mother of a Prince, and lives to see her son become Emperor.

Serai, or, as we say, Seraglio, a large house or palace.

Harem, the women's apartments in the Seraglio, either of the Grand Seignor or of any other man.

Ichoglans, boys kept together in a college, intended for Pages and other officers in the palace.

Mutpach Emini, Chief of the Sultan's kitchen.

Arpah Emini, Purveyor of Barley for the imperial stables, and officers belonging thereto.

Muhazi, General Purveyor.

Chausb,

Chauschor Chiaoux Bafhi, Head or Chief of the *Chausi*; some attend in civil offices; some in military, acting as bailiffs or as messengers; this office seems to have an affinity with the Great Marshal of other courts.

Capigis, Porters to the gates of the seraglio.

Mohammed, the false Prophet, generally called by European authors Mahomet; the founder of the Mahometan Religion.

Hejira, The flight of Mahomet from Mecca, which has fixed the Mahometan æra, and is reckoned in lunar years, from the year 622 of the Christian æra.

Al Koran, signifies *what ought to be read*; this book was delivered by Mahomet to his followers as a divine revelation; and ever since has been considered as the infallible institutes of religion and law.

Abdest, the ablution or washing before prayers.

Misliman, or as we write *Musulman*, one of the faith, or a true believer.

Corban, the great sacrifice of a number of sheep made by the Mahometan pilgrims at the mount Arafata, as they approach to Mecca.

Ramazan or *Ramadan*, the month of fasting, the Lent of the Turks; it revolves with the moon, as all their months are lunar. They strictly fast from sun-rising till sun-set; the nights they pass in eating and sleep.

Beiram, the festivals or rejoicing days. There are two great ones observed by the Turks; the one begins when the Ramazan ends, as our Easter follows Lent. The second is called Chuchuk or Corban Beiram, the the Festival of Sacrifice, which begins seventy days after the former Beiram, and holds three days.

Jami, a Turkish temple, privileged for the Friday's devotion. When one is built by an Emperor, it is called Sultanjamî or Sultany.

Medresè, academies or greater schools, built near the court of the Jamis.

Minaret, a slender and very lofty, round, hollow pillar, with stairs, having one, two, or three external balconies at different heights, from which the hour of prayer is constantly cried. S. Sophia and the Solimani at Constantinople have, each of them, four Minarets, one placed at each corner of their squares. The tops

of the Minarets finish conical, like our spires ; and at their extreme points they bear gilded crescents.

Turbè, a room built near a Jami, for the coffins of a Sultan, his Sultanas, and their children.

Muezins, the criers who, from the balconies of the Minarets, call aloud to prayers ; the tones of their voices are very clear and musical ; they summon to prayer five times in the day.

Meschids, lesser Temples or Moschès, for daily devotion

Imaum, an ordinary priest.

Danishmend, deacons serving in the Jami.

Sheikh, Prelate or head of a Jami ; the Sheikh of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, takes place of all others. There are also Sheikhs of Dervishes who preach and officiate, and are looked upon as holy men.

Dervish, a Mahometan monk, there are various sorts.

Nakib, Chief of the Green Heads or Emirs, before whom they are judged and punished ; the word strictly signifies chief of the saints. There are two Nakib's at Constantinople, one of S. Sophia, and another of Eiup.

Emirs, descendants of Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet. The empire swarms with these wretches, who often have not bread to eat : they distinguish themselves by their green turbans.

Hadgè, one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Every true Musulman thinks himself obliged to perform it once in his life.

Divan Chanè, a chamber of council where causes are heard, and suits are tried ; the two principal divans or councils of the empire are those of the Grand Seigneur, and the Prime Vizir at Constantinople. They who are admitted to the Sultan's divan must wear a castan or robe for the occasion. Sundays and Tuesdays are fixed for the Sultan's divan. Four days in the week the Vizir hears causes, and Thursday is a day of rest.

Armahzar, a petition from a whole province or from the army.

Arzuhal, a petition from private persons.

Teskierejis Effendis, two secretaries, or, properly, masters of requests belonging to the Prime Vizir in the di-

van

van ; the first stands on his right-hand, the other on his left.

Firman, a command of the Grand Seignor. The passports granted to travellers are Firmans, to which is set the *Turah* or signature of the Sultan.

Fetvah, the sentence of the *Mufti*.

Molàhs, an order of men who inherit their character in lineal succession ; they are sent as judges to principal cities and towns.

Ulemas, the Ulema are the whole body of the churchmen and law. These are properly composed of the order of Moulahs.

Cadi, a judge who presides in towns for a year.

Effendi, signifies, noble, learned, and is applied to the highest offices in the state, as Mufti Effendi, &c.

Chelebi, signifies noble, very noble, and is applied to men of the highest rank ; but is now lost in the epithet of Effendi, adapted since the conquest of the Greeks, from their language.

Sanjak, a Governor under a Beg, so a Beg is under a Bashaw, and a Bashaw under a Beglerbeg.

Beglerbeg, signifies Prince of Princes, a title given to all Vizirs of three *Tugs*, i. e. Horse-Tails. There are three more especially honoured with this appellation, viz. *Rumeli Beglerbegi*, who resides at Sophia. *Anadoli Beglerbegi*, who resides at *Kutahia* ; and *Sham Beglerbi*, who resides at *Damascus*.

Pachà or *Bassà*. We write the word Bashaw for the sake of the pronunciation. This title is given to Governors, but differs in dignity. They of the lowest have one *Tug*, the next have two, and those of the highest rank three.

Pachalyk, the government assigned to a Bashaw,

Katib, a Scribe.

Dragoman, an Interpreter.

Agà, means Master or Commander ; so *Janizar Aga* expresses the officer who commands the whole body of Janizaries.

Serder, the Chief of the Janizaries in his district.

Yengi cheri. This word, which means new soldier, is the same as Janizari ; the body of infantry which serves as the Grand Seignor's ordinary Militia, is so called.

Bayrac, an Ensign or Flag; hence *Bayracdar*, the Ensign-bearer.

Spahilaragasi, the Commander in Chief of the Spahis or Horse-guards of the Grand Signor. These are regularly paid at the Porte; the other cavalry of the empire, are *Zaimis* and *Timars*, and paid by the provinces where they are raised.

Seraskier, the general of the whole army; the name and power ceases when the expedition is at an end.

Hospodar, the title of the Princes of Walachia and Moldavia: they receive the investiture of those principalities by a magnificent vest and standard given to each of them by the Grand Signor.

Vayvode, a Slavonian word for a Governor.

Topchi Baschi, chief of the Gunners, and Master of the Cannons.

Bombarji Baschi, Master, or Head of the Bombardiers and Bombs.

Gebegys, the Armourers.

Topehana Nazirî, Superintendent of the Ordnance.

Capudan Pachâ, High Admiral of the Grand Signor's Fleets.

Levendi, a word used by the Turks, and corrupted from the Italian word *Levanti*: it denotes the Marine Forces: Greeks and other Christians are admitted among them, which is not allowed in any other corps of the Ottoman troops.

Raias, so the Turks call all the native Christian or Jew subjects of the Grand Signor.

Kharazzi, Tribute-money or Capitation-tax, levied on the vassals or subjects in the Ottoman dominions, as Greeks, Jews, &c.

Hamams, the Baths or Bagnios.

Meidan, a great square or place for the exercises of Horsemanship.

Bazar, a market.

Bezestyn, an exchange: in it on each side are the shops for the various sorts of Goods; it forms narrow streets covered over head; all the tradesmen who sell the same sort of goods, are contiguous one to the other.

Kiosc, a summer-house to a garden.

INTRODUCTION.

THE author of the following Observations no sooner resolved to communicate them to the public, but he gave them a cursory revifal, altering the form of fome, and adding a few others ; fo that the work was fent to the prefs before he could give it the laft hand. He was fenfible that fome errors, both in ftile and compofition, muft be the unavoidable confequences of fo hafty a publication ; but he apprehended, that he who ventures to appear in print, fhould make truth and perfpicuity his chief care ; and that if he fucceeds fo far as to convey the former by the vehicle of the latter, tri-

fling blemishes and imperfections of stile might be overlooked by a candid reader.

When a man, almost broken down by a constant use of the pen in business, addresses the public, he apprehends it to be a sufficient discharge of his duty, if he clearly relates the facts, and throws out such reflections as have naturally occurred to him; but he considers a scrupulous attention to elegance of stile as by no means essential in such a narrative. He claims a sort of dispensation from the outward forms of dress, and looks upon himself as privileged to be loose * and unadorned.

Had the author wrote merely for reputation, he would have studied elegance of composition, and well-turned

* *Dicta factaque ejus quanto solutiora & quandam sui negligentiam præferentia, tanto gratius in speciem simplicitatis accipiebantur. Tacit. Ann. lib. xvi. pag. 136.*

periods ; he would have aimed at all the refined embellishments of a pure, and classical style. But he freely resigns the ornaments of rhetoric to those, who are more solicitous about words than things ; who prefer cultivating the talents of imagination to the investigation of truth ; who delight more in gathering the flowers of eloquence, than in dispelling the clouds of error, and the enchantments of delusion. However, though he looks upon verbal criticism as below his notice, yet as some expressions, which to him appeared clear and perspicuous, have been considered as obscure and equivocal by others, he has thought proper to correct them in the present edition.

The author would here beg leave to premise two observations : the first is, that these general remarks are taken entirely from his own knowledge of the religion, &c. of the Turks : had he
 devi-

deviated from this point, he must have done like many others, have compiled from books, and dealt in hearsay stories and fiction : he did not attempt to give a full and complete account of an uncommunicative people, concealed and wrapped up in the veil of their own obscurity.

The second is, that he never asserted the Turkish government to be perfect, or totally exempt from despotism, but to be much more perfect and regular, as well as less despotic, than most writers have represented it : in a word, to be much superior with regard to the regularity of its form, and the justness of its administration, as well as much less despotic, than the government of some Christian states,

A judicious and elegant writer has, however, remarked, that a long residence in Turkey, may have so reconciled

ciled count Marfigli *, and the *Author of these Observations*, to the country and people, as to make them unwilling to

* Marfigli, ch. vi. Milit. State of the Turkish Empire, and the author of the *Obsér.* vol. i. pag. 81. differ from other writers, who have described the political constitution of that powerful monarchy: As they had opportunity, during their long residence in Turkey, to observe the order and justice conspicuous in several departments of administration, they seem unwilling to admit that it should be denominated a despotism. But when the form of government in any country is represented to be despotic, this does not suppose that the power of the monarch is continually exerted in acts of violence, injustice, and cruelty. Under governments of every species, unless when some frantic tyrant happens to hold the sceptre, the ordinary administration must be conformable to the principles of justice; and if not active in promoting the welfare of the people, cannot certainly have their destruction for its object. A state in which the sovereign possesses the absolute command of a vast military force, together with the disposal of an extensive revenue, in which the people have no privileges, and no part either immediate or remote in legislation, in which there is no body of hereditary nobility jealous of their own rights and distinctions, to stand as an intermediate order between the Porte and the people, cannot be distinguished by any name but that of despotism.

admit

admit the Turkish government to be a despotism on account of the order and justice conspicuous in several departments of its administration.

The restraints, however, I have mentioned, arising from the * *Capiculy*, and from religion are powerful, but they are not such as change the nature or denomination of government. When a despotic prince employs an armed force to support his authority, he commits the supreme power to their hands; the prætorian bands in Rome dethroned, murdered, and exalted princes in the same wanton manner with the soldiery of the Porte at Constantinople; but notwithstanding this, the Roman empire has been considered by all political writers as possessing despotic princes. Robertson's *Proofs and Illustrations of the Life of Charles V.* Note. 42, pag. 388.

But as there are circumstances which frequently obstruct or defeat the salutary effects of the best regulated government, there are others which contribute to mitigate the acts of the most vicious forms of policy; there can, indeed, be no constitutional restraints on the will of a prince in a despotic government; but there may be such as are accidental; absolute as the Turkish sultans are, they feel themselves circumscribed both by religion, the prin-

* The *Capiculy*, i. e. soldiers at the gate, are those who are upon the original military establishment; and include not only the Janissaries, but also the Bostanjis, and all other bodies of men who are in constant service at the Seraglio.

Hence,

Hence, this same writer makes this remark, "that when the form of government in any country is represented as despotic, this does not imply that the power of the monarch is continually exerted in acts of violence, injustice and cruelty."

We readily agree with this able writer, that through long residence in a country, and kind, obliging treatment from the government or the people, prejudices in favour of that country may be strongly contracted;

principle on which their authority is founded, and by the army, the instrument which they must employ. In order to maintain it, whenever religion interposes, the will of the sovereign must submit to its decrees; when the Koran hath presented any religious rite, hath enjoined any moral duty, or hath confirmed by its sanction any political maxim, the command of the sultan cannot overturn that which an higher authority hath established. The chief restriction, however, on the will of the sovereign is misused by the military power; an armed force must surround the throne of every despot, to maintain his authority, and to execute his commands. *Idem*, pag. 189.

and these may bias the mind to pass a partial judgment on their government, religion, manners, and customs: But if, notwithstanding all this courteous treatment, the evidence of truth and fact obliges us to discern the inveterate hatred, which the arrogance of superstitious zeal excites that government and people to bear towards all who are of a different persuasion; or if, amidst the kindness and civility of the inhabitants, any inconveniences or misfortunes arise from the same source to ourselves, our sensibility on such occasion must efface every partial consideration; the eyes of the understanding must be opened, and such a people and government will then appear in their true and odious light.

But were we to wave this reflection, the ingenious author must still surely admit, that a long residence in any country, is most likely to enable a careful observer to acquire a thorough

knowledge of its government, manners, and customs: such objects are of too complicated and varied a nature for a transient traveller, and still more so for the speculative author, who is confined to his closet, and derives all his ideas from the relations of superficial writers.

It is well known to all who have travelled in Turkey, that the Koran, which is received as a divine revelation by the Turks, is a code of laws between prince and people, a compact binding both, and sealed in heaven. A despotism, on the contrary, I take to be a government in which there exists neither law nor compact, prior to the usurped power of the sovereign; a sovereign, on whose arbitrary will the framing, or the execution of laws depends, and who is bound neither by positive divine injunction, nor compact with the people. If therefore the

power of the Grand Seignor is to a certain degree limited and circumscribed by the Koran, this power comes so far short of despotism. If, moreover, a succession of those princes have scrupulously and religiously adhered to that limitation, as from a long residence under that government has been observed, surely the inference is just, that the Turkish government is a species of limited monarchy, at least not an absolute despotism.

The monarch most limited by law or compact, may venture to transgress and break through the limitation; and yet the obligatory law, or compact, still exists: to determine therefore whether a government is properly denominated a despotism, or not, the question is not whether acts of injustice and cruelty are constantly or occasionally exerted? But whether the monarch is really limited by law or compact?

To

To argue from right to fact, can neither be looked upon as just or conclusive; the abuse of a law, or compact by force, by craft, or by any other means, cannot weaken its original obligation; if it be a divine law, it must continue eternally obligatory; and if a compact between parties it must remain in force, till dissolved by mutual consent.

“ But then, continues our author, a
 “ state in which the sovereign has the
 “ absolute command of a vast military
 “ force, as also an extensive revenue at
 “ his disposal, in which the people have
 “ no privileges, and no share, either im-
 “ mediate or remote, in legislation, in
 “ which there is no body of hereditary
 “ nobility jealous of their rights and
 “ distinctions, to stand as an interme-
 “ diate order between the prince and
 “ the people, cannot be called by any
 b “ other

“other name than that of a despotism.”

Even if we should admit, that when all these several conditions are wanting in a government, such government may be denominated a despotism; we may justly maintain notwithstanding, that the Turkish empire does not fall under this predicament. With regard to the first part of the argument, viz. the Grand Signor's absolute power over a vast army; I must observe, by way of explaining what I have advanced concerning the military establishment in Turkey, that the standing army in that empire is but inconsiderable, and that the sovereign's power over it is by no means absolute; that of consequence such an army is far from being an instrument suited to the purposes of despotism.

The

The Janissaries, it is true, are said to amount to 200,000; some swell them to 300,000, and the muster-rolls may contain very great numbers; but it should be taken into consideration, that not only at Constantinople, but in all the frontier garrisons, there are multitudes who give money to get their names enrolled, in order to enjoy the privileges and immunities of that respectable corps, to be free of that city, to work at manual trades, to have a right to open shops, to keep stalls, or engage in commerce; these, however, receive no pay, and are at liberty to withdraw their names whenever they think proper; thus circumstanced, they are volunteers. It is not therefore possible to ascertain the precise number of Janissaries, which can be denominated a standing army; in this respect nei-

ther Solyman the lawgiver's canon *, nor the rolls, can be of any service to us. The only way to form a just estimate in this affair, is to take into consideration the pay distributed to the Janissaries throughout the whole empire in the space of six months: it amounts to 2400 purses, or 150,000 l. with regard to the sum, there can be no mistake, because we see it told out and paid to each chamber at the Divan. Now if we suppose that the pay of the staff, and all other officers and private men may be estimated upon an average at three pence a day, we shall not find above 60,000 Janissaries in constant pay, throughout the vast extent of the empire. But even this

* This book of laws was published by Solyman, the Magnificent, and entitled Kanun Nameh, that is, the Book of Regulations, containing the expences of the Turkish government.

pay is often greatly reduced by abuses and concessions, as it appeared at the execution of the *Kislar-Aga*, or chief of the black eunuchs, in the year 1752.

The young slave, Solyman Aga, availing himself of the usurped credit of his master, appropriated to his own use the pay of 8000 Janissaries; and it is notorious that several great men obtain it for their servants, who, in time of war, never join the army. Add to this, that amongst the whole numbers, who in time of peace receive their pay, near one fourth are invalids, incapable of military service.

But the numerous armies attributed to the Turks, are by no means made up entirely of Janissaries; the latter constitute but an inconsiderable number of them in comparison. Upon a declaration of war, all the inhabitants

of each district from 16 to 60 are summoned to join the standard of their Bashaw, and to rendezvous at a certain place. Those who approve of the war, or who like their commanders, join the army, but are not obliged to serve out a campaign ; they stay or return as their fancy or inclination directs. The very Janissaries themselves act on the same principle: I was told by a Birahtar, or ensign of the Janissaries, that after the defeat at Choczim by the Russians in the last war, he fled from his colours, and returned to his own habitation ; and that this was their constant practice.

The real army of the Grand Signor is therefore to be considered as composed of the people, who constitute four or five to one of the corps that is kept upon the establishment.

Nor

Nor can any of those Janissaries in pay be distinguished from the people; they are not in the course of the longest peace either disciplined or reviewed; nay, it cannot be said, that they are even embodied.

The Turkish horse consisting of the Spahis, who are regularly paid, and the Zayms and the Timars, who are possessed of military tenures, are not under a discipline more strict; for when they are called upon to serve, they can have recourse to evasions as easily as the others; they repair to the camp, just make their appearance, are enrolled, and a few days after return to their own homes. How little then can the principal ends of despotism be answered by a vast army, which the public revenue is hardly capable of putting in motion? The influence of money may

indeed excite an inconsiderable number of banditti, to join in supporting a despot for a time ; but as the bulk of the militia consists of the people themselves, and as they are as well trained to arms as any of the regulars in pay, what can the most arbitrary government expect, but to be controlled and opposed by those, whom it would endeavour to make the tools and instruments of oppression and tyrannic sway ? It is indeed evident in fact, that an army thus composed of the body of the people, is a powerful check upon the Grand Signor, and his ministers themselves in all their proceedings. The author admits this with regard to those he calls *Capiculy*, but these are in every respect in the same predicament with the rest of the army.

From

From what has been said, it appears that these troops are by no means upon the same footing with the Prætorian guards. The former, I will take it upon me to affirm, never of themselves deposed a single prince of their own, from Ottoman to the present Mustapha. But there is another order of men in the state more dangerous to the sovereign; these have, by their intrigues and secret machinations, been the fomenters of every rebellion; their combinations are truly formidable to the prince; as they have the highest credit and influence with the people and the soldiery, whose passions they can in a moment inflame to a degree of phrenzy, and render them fit instruments to execute their pernicious designs.

To elucidate this point more thoroughly, we shall proceed to examine the other part of our author's observation.

vation. The people in Turkey, it is true, have no share immediate or remote in legislation ; they are excluded from this by the original compact in the Koran, which has established all their privileges, secured their persons and properties, and ascertained the extent of their rights ; should they happen not to be sufficiently extensive to answer the end of absolute liberty, (if such a thing be compatible with government,) they serve, however, as a barrier and fence against the monarch's exertion of power, directed by his pleasure and will ; and point out the right of resistance, when he exceeds the due limits of his authority. The fact is therefore, that though the people have no share, either immediate or remote, in the legislation ; they have the Ulema *, (a circumstance which seems

* Among these the order of the Moulahs are the chief ; the Cadis are also a part, but never rise

to escape the ingenious author's knowledge) composed of all the members of the church or law ; a body of men equal, if not superior to any nobility, jealous of their rights and privileges, and who stand as an intermediate order between the prince and people. Among these, the order of Moulahs are the chief, being also hereditary ; they derive their authority from Heaven and the Koran, and consider it of course to be as well founded as that of the Grand Signor : they may be called the perpetual and hereditary guardians of the religion and laws of the empire ; their persons are sacred, and they have a power, which they often exert, to oppose the prince's measures with impunity. These separately, (though their influence is

higher, whereas the former become Cadiulafkiers, or chief justices, and Muftis.

much stronger when the whole body conspires, and is actuated by the same views,) can, by availing themselves of the implicit respect of the people and the soldiery, rouse them to arms, mark out the point of limitation transgressed by the prince, and proceed to a formal deposition ; nay, of such high importance is this intermediate power in the state, that a Grand Signor can never be deposed without their concurrence.

Out of this hereditary order the Mufti is chosen, and can be taken from no other ; to this body the Grand Signor appeals for a sanction in every important act of state, whether relative to peace or war ; and in every criminal cause, even in those in which his own servants are concerned, he cannot take the life of a single subject, without the Mufti's decree : their descen-

descendants are all Moulahs ; they admit no one into their order that is not recommended by some extraordinary merit or favour ; not even of the first Bafhaws's family, except one perhaps in a century, and then not without some foundation or claim.

A late declaration furnishes us with a striking proof of their weight and importance in this government. At the last treaty of Belgrade *, the mi-

* Les ministres Turcs vouloient, que cette explication vint des puissances alliées, ou directement, ou par le canal de la France. C'étoit moins de leur part une affaire *de délicatesse*, qu' une nécessité attachée à leur situation. Ils disoient à ce sujet, que leur gouvernement étoit plus *republicain*, qu'on ne pensoit ; qu' à Petersbourg, ou Vienne la décision des affaires dépendoit uniquement d'une ou de deux têtes, qui dans leur cabinet prenoient leur parti, sans être comptables à personne ; qu' à Constantinople au contraire, quelque despotique que fût le Grand Seigneur, il ne pouvoit souscrire à un projet de paix, sans l'avis du Mufti et le consentement des

nifters

nisters of the Porte declared to the French ambassador the grand arcanum of their government, namely, that it was in part, republican; that the Grand Seignor could not offer preliminaries of peace without the concurrence of the Moulahs, and that to unite so many different sentiments was so difficult a point, that he could not hope to succeed, however despotic he might be supposed. I likewise remember, that the same Kissar-Aga, who was beheaded in 1752, com-

gens de loi; que ce seroit tenter l'impossible, que de vouloir concilier tant de têtes, pour la formation d'un projet de paix incertain et dependant de l'acceptation des autres parties belligerantes; que tout ce qu'on pourroit esperer de plus heureux, c'étoit de parvenir à la reunion de tant d'esprits differens sur ce plan du traité ou les preliminaires, lorsqu' il seroit arrêté et présenté au divan avec certitude d'etre accepté par les ennemis de la Porte. Hist. des Negotiations pour la Paix conclue à Belgrade, Paris, 1768, v. i. p. 157.

plained

plained to an English merchant, that those cotton heads (meaning the Moulahs) curbed the Grand Seignor's power, and his, and boasted of the mighty matters they would do, if they could once get rid of them : they indeed at last were the cause of his being publicly executed for his tyrannical administration, and repeated violation of their laws.

From the original compact in the Koran, and the other circumstances that have been laid before the reader, it may, I think, be reasonably inferred, that if the Turkish empire be not in every respect a limited monarchy, it borders upon that kind of government ; and that there are degrees at least, of limitation in its sovereignty, no one surely can deny.

France and Spain have originally had degrees of limitation in their constitutions,

stitutions, the one by the states and notables, the other by their cortes. Republics, which are thought to be in some measure free, confine that freedom within such narrow limits, that it is difficult to ascertain the barrier between their power and despotism; they would, however, take it for a high affront, were they to be considered in any other light but that of free, and consequently limited states. A circle of a small diameter is not less a circle, than one of a greater; but if we make our own form of government the standard of a limited monarchy, as Dr. Robertson seems to have done, we shall find it a model not to be surpassed, and the only complete system of government in the universe.

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

C H A P. I.

*The Difficulty of obtaining information in
Turkey—Character of the Turks.*

WRITERS who never visited foreign * countries, and travellers † who have run thro' immense regions with fleeting pace, have given us long accounts of various countries and people; evidently

* Melchisedeck Thevenot, librarian to the French king, was never out of Europe. Gemelli Carreri, a Neapolitan gentleman, who, for many years, never quitted his chamber, being confined by a tedious indisposition, amused himself with writing a voyage round the world; giving characters of men, and descriptions of countries, as if he had really visited them.

† Tournefort, Paul Lucas, Pococke, &c.

collected from the idle reports and absurd traditions of the ignorant vulgar, from whom only they could have received those relations, which we see accumulated with such undiscerning credulity.

The Turks have abundantly shared this treatment: without taking notice therefore of what even the best informed authors may have wrote, I shall lay before the reader some short observations and general strictures on the religion, law, government, and manners of that people, which have reached my own knowledge. If what I advance has no other merit, it will at least have that of strict veracity.

It is extremely difficult to come at information in Turkey; enquiries give disgust. The Mahometan law is so strict and positive, that it confines, and binds the understanding of its sectaries within the narrow limits of what

the *Koran* teaches ; and renders them incommunicable with the rest of mankind ; especially on the subject of religion, or of their own customs. Strangers who do not, and cannot perfectly understand the language, must converse by interpreters ; but these dare not enter into enquiries they think will give the least offence : on such subjects, therefore, they never do, nor will interpret ; if they are pressed, evasion is their refuge, and both the question they make, and the answer they return, will be entirely of their own invention.

It may then be asked, how are we to be informed in Turkey ? I must answer, very imperfectly. A long and continued residence in that country, many connections and dependencies amongst different ranks of people, may lead us to some truth ; but certain it is, that we have hitherto had but very

imperfect accounts of their government or their manners,

To trace the correct outline of any national character, is, I am sensible, a difficult task; of the Turks I have premised it is peculiarly so: I shall nevertheless make the attempt.

The Turks are in general a sagacious people; in the pursuit of their own interest, or fortune, their attention is fixt on one object, and they persevere with great steadiness until they attain their purpose. They appear in the common intercourse of life to be courteous and humane, and by no means void of sentiments of gratitude: perhaps some, or all these virtues, when extended towards Christians, are practised with a view to their own emolument. Interest regulates their conduct throughout; where that becomes an object of competition, all attachment of friendship, all ties of consanguinity

fanguinity are dissolved ; they become desperate, no barrier can stop their pursuit, or abate their rancour towards their competitors. In their tempers they are rather hypochondriac, grave, sedate, and passive ; but when agitated by passion, furious, raging, ungovernable ; deep dissemblers ; jealous, suspicious *, and vindictive beyond con-

* The Zonanas, famous Jews, residing at Constantinople, are purveyors to the whole body of Janissaries throughout the empire ; receive all their monies, supply them with all necessaries, advance cash to their *Agas* ; to all their officers, and even to the common men. The father of the present Zonana had the same employment ; he lived to a very advanced age, in high reputation ; and had acquired great weight and influence with that turbulent, formidable corps. Tiriacki Mehemet Bashiaw, who, in 1746, had the seals conferred on him as Vizir, raised himself from a low beginning : two and twenty years before he attained this dignity, he was an ordinary *Katib*, or scribe, to that militia ; at which time, on some dispute of interest with Zonana, he declared, with violent asseveration, that if he ever had it in his power, Zonana's head should be the first he would

ception; perpetuating revenge through successive generations. In matters of religion, they are tenacious, supercilious, and morose.

Strike off: he had been but a few days Vizir, before he accordingly executed his purpose. Time could not mitigate his revenge; he took the old man's head off even at the risk of his own security; for so great was the affection the Janissaries bore to Zonana, it was thought this act of violence might cause a rebellion.

Turks have been known to come from the frontiers of Persia into Asia Minor, and Thrace, to revenge the death of a grandfather, uncle, or cousin, many years after the offence has been committed. It is usual for the parent to remind his child, and the uncle his nephew, of any injury their family or relations have suffered, and excite them continually to revenge. I wish it were not true, that in many of the Greek islands, among those who call themselves Christians, the same practice is prevalent.

The christian *Dragomans*, or interpreters, are uncommonly generous to the meanest, and the most indigent Turk, treating them with deference and politeness: when the reason is asked, they tell you, they have seen so many, from the very lowest, rise to the highest stations, that it is necessary to guard against their revenge; in truth they fear them; education and observation lead them to it.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

Of the Mahometan religion—and the pilgrimage to Mecca.

AMONG the many singular and whimsical conceits of a * modern writer, we meet with some pertinent remarks and shrewd observations, not always indeed his own; he tells us, “that to judge properly of religion, we must not take it from the books of those who profess it; we must see how it is practised in a country where it is established; we shall there find it a very different thing: each has its traditions, peculiar interpretations, customs, prejudices; these make the very essence of their

* J. J. Rousseau, Em. liv. iv.

“faith, and must be combined with
 “what their books profess, before
 “we can be able to judge of it.”

To ascertain, therefore, the true spirit of Mahometanism, we must appeal to an impartial observation of the real influence it has on the practice of its followers.

The Mahometan belief at first sight appears extremely simple : what they first require from a proselyte to their religion, is solely the repetition of a short creed: *Allah il Allah, Mubamed resoul Allah* ; that is, “There is but one God, “and Mahomet is his prophet.” He is then confirmed by ablution and a short prayer, and ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{then} received into the number of true believers. Circumcision generally follows.

Hence some have pretended, and many might be led to think, that it is a religion by no means clashing violently with reason ; the great basis on which

which it is founded being the unity of the Deity.

But this plausible initiation is only a first step, from whence the convert must plunge into the belief of all the absurdities of the *Koran*, every article of which he must receive as revelation from God, written in heaven, and sent down by the Almighty in mercy to his chosen people. He must firmly profess that repeating this revelation so many times a year, observing rigorously the fast of *Ramazan*, performing ablutions * on different parts of the body, carefully extending them to certain spaces and critical proportions ; going

* A *Reis Effendi*, or secretary of state, reputed of great ability and learning, sent for a Christian *Dragoman*, or interpreter, on very urgent business ; he attended, and found the secretary deeply engaged in dispute with his son-in-law on the important question, to what exact height their hands or arms, feet or legs, should be washed, to render themselves truly acceptable to God ?

the

the pilgrimage to Mecca; drinking a portion of water, in which their prophet's old † robe has been dipt; repeating some, or the whole, of the ninety-nine names of the different attributes of the Deity, on a string of ninety-nine beads; are all devotional duties, so essentially necessary to a true believer, that without them the purest heart and the sincerest faith are insufficient to recommend him to divine favour; these practices he likewise holds to be the efficacious and the indispensable means, to atone for all his crimes and immoralities.

Such absurdities might be looked on as inventions contrived by Mahomet, merely to amuse and catch his ignorant and simple followers. They

† The Grand Signior is guardian of this robe, he himself distributes the water annually after the *Beiram*, in small phials to all his courtiers, and they do the like to their followers and friends.

would,

would, indeed, be of little consequence to the moral order of the world, if the conclusions drawn from them by the Turks were not, in the highest degree, injurious to the rest of mankind: for, hence they deduce, that all who are not of their belief, and embrace not the doctrines of their prophet, are * objects of Divine vengeance and abhorrence; consequently, of their detestation, and on whom they are to exercise violence, fraud, and rapine.

The force and efficacy of this principle operates so effectually, that Mahometans are ever ready to demonstrate their zeal by spurning and ill treating the persons, plundering the property, and even destroying the very existence, of those who profess a different religion. If they are candid they will frankly

* Koran, Sale's Transl. chap. iii. p. 50. chap. v. p. 83,

confess,

confess, upon an inquiry, that such is their duty, so they are commanded, and that they are convinced it is most meritorious in the sight of God and his prophet.

The insatiable avarice of the Turks is the potent preservative of those Christians and Jews who live amongst them. These are an inexhaustible treasure to government ; a source constantly flowing to supply the wants of multitudes, even of the powerful and the ambitious : hence, therefore, religious tyranny and the inveterate prejudice of enthusiasm, are in some sort subdued and vanquished.

The first effort of Mahometan education is to root deep in the minds of their children, a high contempt of all other religions ; from babes they are carefully taught to distinguish them by the opprobrious name of *Ghiaour*, or Infidel.

The

The habit becomes so forcible, by the time they are men, that they can use no other term ; they follow them with it in every street, and will often affect pushing against them with the utmost contempt.

Men of dignity, or those of a rank above the populace, behave with seeming courtesy and complaisance, though often with a sort of stern superiority ; but you are scarce dismissed, however civilly, before they will honour you with the high title of *Dumūs*, or hog, the animal they hold the most odious, detestable, and impure of the whole creation.

Take the most miserable Turk, who is dependent on a Christian, and would starve without him ; let the latter require of him the salute of peace, the *Salem Alek*, or, "Peace be with you," he would sooner die than give it ; he would think himself abominated by

by God, and that his prophet would look down on him with indignation as an infidel and apostate ; it is reserved solely for Mussulmans, or true believers. The utmost they dare say, and many of them think it too much, is *Chair olla*, " Good be with you."

They are enjoined by their religion to extend it by making converts ; and to press at least three times all those of any other persuasion, to embrace it. Some affect a forcible and unbecoming zeal ; others more moderate, content themselves with a mere formal requisition ; but either of them will change their tone, according as they conceive the person they address may be useful to them or not.

They cannot reject the most abject or * wicked mortal, who offers to be-

* Even a profest and notorious murderer, ignorant of their language.

come a true believer, though they know his crimes, and that he is wholly ignorant of their religious tenets.

† The real worth of *Bashawlycks*, or governments, is in proportion to the number of the Christian inhabitants ; because the Bashaws may, with regard

† Between Constantinople and Angoura, in Asia Minor, above three or four hundred villages have been, in a series of years, abandoned by their Christian inhabitants. About Aleppo, and other parts of Syria, greater numbers, much later, have been deserted. These miserable Christians do not quit the empire, but emigrate into cities, or or wherever else they imagine themselves less exposed to oppression and violence.

It is but a few years ago, that all the Greek inhabitants of the Morea joined in an *Arz mahzar*, or general representation, against their Bashaw, whose oppression and extortions were enormous : the Bashaw brought the Turkish inhabitants for evidences in his favour ; and though he had ruined a multitude of Greeks, their complaints were not the immediate cause of his removal.

Hence it is, that the most opulent Greeks secure their property, and often their persons, at Venice : numbers of them always reside in that city.

to them, indulge all their lust of power; their zeal, and avarice; they may tyrannize, harass, and oppress them; in short they may suck their very vitals without having any reason to fear their complaints. But they cherish and spare those of their own religion; for when Christians represent a Bashaw's misconduct to the Porte, the Turks are sure to bear witness in his favour.

But such evidence, though it serves their turn, is believed by nobody; facts are clear and incontestible. Let a man reside at Constantinople, and observe the continual fear Christians and Jews live in; the means they use to obtain protection from the Turks in power; the horrid crimes and acts of mutual injustice, by which they seem to be under a necessity of purchasing that favour; in fine, the wrongs and insults which they are constantly obliged to bear: he will thence form a
true

true idea of Mahometanism, and a just estimate of the influence it has on the manners of its votaries.

There is no command in the *Koran* more forcible, nor held in greater respect by Mussulmans, than the pilgrimage to Mecca. A *badge*, or pilgrim, is always reckoned regenerate ; he who has not been at Mecca, laments his situation in life, which has not permitted him to perform this duty ; and he is anxious for the state of his soul. This pilgrimage is, indeed, the main basis of Mahometanism ; for whoever performs it regularly, and omits not any part, is confident that he recommends himself effectually to the Divine favour, is absolved from all sin, and rendered permanently acceptable to the Deity.

Since, therefore, an exact account of the Turkish ceremonies performed at

Mecca, must convey as just an idea of the Mahometan religion, as if we beheld their practice; I shall give a short history of them, extracted from the journal of a true Mussulman, who seems to have noted down every part as soon as he had performed it.

' After the month of their fast, or
' the *Ramazan*, the caravan of Damas-
' cus, composed of the pilgrims from
' Europe and Asia Minor, the Arabian,
' and the principal one from Cairo, set
' out for Mecca. They all have their
' stated time of departure, and their re-
' gular stages. That from Cairo begins
' the journey thirty days after the Rama-
' zan; and the conductors so regulate
' each day's march, that they arrive in
' forty days; that is, just before the
' *Corban*, or great sacrifice.

' Five or six days before that festi-
' val, the three caravans, consisting of
' about 200,000 men, and 300,000
' beasts

‘ beasts of burthen, unite and en-
 ‘ camp at some miles from Mecca.

‘ The pilgrims form themselves
 ‘ into small detachments, and enter
 ‘ the town to perform the ceremo-
 ‘ nies preparatory to the great sacri-
 ‘ fice. They are led through a street
 ‘ of continual ascent till they arrive
 ‘ at a gate on an eminence, called
 ‘ the Gate of Health; from thence
 ‘ they see the great mosche, which
 ‘ encloses the house of Abraham;
 ‘ they salute it with the profoundest
 ‘ devotion, repeating twice, *Salem Alek*
 ‘ *Irusoul Alla*; that is, “Peace be with
 “the Ambassador of God.” Thence,
 ‘ at some distance, they mount five
 ‘ steps, to a large platform faced
 ‘ with stone, where they offer up their
 ‘ prayers. Then they descend on the
 ‘ other side of it, and advance to-
 ‘ wards two similar arches, at some dis-
 ‘ tance from each other, which they pass

‘ thro’ with great silence and devotion.
 ‘ This ceremony must be performed
 ‘ seven times.

‘ From hence proceeding to the great
 ‘ mosche which encloses the house of
 ‘ Abraham, they enter the mosche,
 ‘ and walk seven times round the lit-
 ‘ tle building contained within it ; say-
 ‘ ing, “ This is the house of God, and
 ‘ “ of his servant Abraham ;” then kiss-
 ‘ ing with great reverence * a black
 ‘ stone, said to have descended white
 ‘ from heaven, they go to the famous
 ‘ well called † *Zun-Zun*, and plunge

* Our Mussulman tells us, that this stone fell from heaven, accompanied with a voice, saying, “ Wherever this stone falls, there you must build the house of God, and from that house he will hear the prayers of sinners ;” that on its descent it was as white as snow, but it is become black from the touch of such a number of sinful lips ; for the pilgrims are obliged to kiss it, otherwise they cannot be cleared of their sins.

† This well the angel shewed to Agar when she was distressed in the desert, and found no water for her son Ishmael ; it is called by the Arabs, *Zem-Zem*.

“ into

‘into it with all their cloaths, continually repeating *Toba Alla, Toba Alla*, “Forgiveness God, Forgiveness God.”

‘They then drink a draught of that ‘fetid turbid water, and depart.

‘The duty of bathing and drinking ‘they are obliged to pass through ‘once; but those who will gain paradise before the others, must perform ‘it once a day, during the stay of the ‘caravan.

‘At fifteen miles from the town of ‘Mecca, there is a hill, or little ‘mountain, called *Ghiabal Arafata*, or, “The Mount of Forgiveness;” it is about two miles in circumference, a ‘most delicious spot; on it Adam and ‘Eve met, after the Lord, for their ‘transgression, had separated them forty years; here they cohabited, and ‘lived in excess of happiness, having ‘built a house on this mount, called ‘*Beith Adam*, i. e. Adam’s House. The

' night before, or the eve of the day
 ' of sacrifice, the three caravans, each
 ' ranged in a triangular form, sur-
 ' round this mountain ; during the
 ' whole night the people rejoice, cla-
 ' mour, and riot, and making explo-
 ' sions of cannon, muskets, pistols, and
 ' fire-works, with the constant sound of
 ' drums and trumpets. As soon as day
 ' breaks, a profound silence succeeds, they
 ' slay their sheep, offer up their sacrifice
 ' on the mountain, with all the demon-
 ' strations of the most profound devotion.

' On a sudden a scheik, or fantone,
 ' rushes from amidst them, mounted on
 ' his camel ; he ascends five steps, ren-
 ' dered practicable for that purpose,
 ' and in a studied sermon preaches thus
 ' to the people.'

" Return praise and thanks for the
 " infinite and immense benefits granted
 " by God to Mahometans, through the
 " mediation of his most beloved friend
 " and

“ prophet Mahomet; for that he has
 “ delivered them from the slavery and
 “ bondage of sin and idolatry in which
 “ they were plunged; has given them
 “ the house of Abraham, from whence
 “ they can be heard, and their peti-
 “ tions granted: Also the Mountain of
 “ Forgiveness, by means of which they
 “ can implore him, and obtain pardon
 “ and remission of all their sins.

“ For that the blessed, pious, and
 “ merciful God, giver of all good gifts,
 “ commanded his secretary Abraham
 “ to build himself a house at Mecca,
 “ whence his descendants might pray
 “ to the Almighty, and their desires be
 “ fulfilled.

“ On this command, all the moun-
 “ tains in the world ran, as it were,
 “ each ambitious to assist the secretary
 “ of the Lord, and to furnish a stone
 “ towards erecting the holy house; all
 “ except this poor little mountain,

“ which, through mere indigence, could
 “ not contribute a stone. It continued
 “ therefore thirty years grievously af-
 “ flicted; at length, the eternal God
 “ observed its anguish, and moved with
 “ pity at its long-suffering, broke forth,
 “ saying, I can forbear no longer, my
 “ child, your bitter lamentations have
 “ reached my ears, and I now declare,
 “ that all those who henceforth come
 “ to visit the house of my friend Abra-
 “ ham, shall not be absolved of their
 “ sins, if they do not first reverence
 “ you, and celebrate on you the holy
 “ sacrifice, which I have enjoined
 “ my people through the mouth of
 “ my prophet Mahomet.—Love God—
 “ pray—give alms.”—‘ After this ser-
 ‘ mon, the people salute the mountain
 ‘ and depart.’

Independent of any inference from
 this account of the pilgrimage to Mec-
 ca; the inestimable value and import-
 ance

ance of it in the conception of the people, and even in the eye of government, would have appeared evident to any one present at Constantinople, when a singular accident happened to the caravan returning from Mecca to Damascus in the year 1757.

The Bashaw of Damascus, is generally the conductor of the caravan, or *Emir Hadge*: Ezade Bashaw had enjoyed that post many years; he had sovereign credit amongst the Arabs, and had married into one of their chief tribes; his possessions in the neighbourhood of Damascus were incredibly extensive, but they were equalled by his generosity. The kislar-aga, who was in power the year before, and governed in the seraglio, blinded by venality, and not foreseeing consequences, removed Ezade Bashaw to the Bashawlyck of Aleppo, and named to that of Damascus

cus an obscure man, on whom he had just conferred the three tails ; and who became of course Emir Hadge, or conductor to the caravan. His succeeding Ezade Bashaw was crime sufficient in the eyes of the principal Arabian tribes ; but his refusing them a small tribute, the payment of which had been suspended by * Ezade Bashaw's credit, rendered them furious and implacable ; they assembled to the number of 40,000, attacked the caravan, defeated the Bashaw of Sidon,

. * Some time after, the Porte determined to remove Ezade Bashaw from Aleppo to Urfa ; but he was so beloved by the people of Aleppo, that they refused admittance to the new Bashaw, and stood on the defensive.—The Porte passively submitted for the present, but however engaged Ezade Bashaw next year to accept the government of Urfa ; he was not long there before the vizir Ragib Bashaw, by stratagem, had him seized, and made him atone for what they called disobedience with the loss of his head.

who

who waited on the road to supply it with provisions, slaughtered numbers of the 100,000 pilgrims who composed it, and plundered all their effects.

Never was consternation greater, among all ranks of people, than upon hearing of this event; when the fugitive soldiers, who guarded the caravan, returned to Damascus, they fell a sacrifice to the citizens fury, as betrayers of the faith; at Constantinople they looked upon their religion as subverted, and the gates of salvation locked. The depression was inconceivably great, and universal; grief and despair were vented only in fullen murmurs; no one dared to speak out; the sultan was *Cursus*, Unfortunate: he was scarce safe on his throne. The argument in his favour, was, that this mischief had happened
in

in the reign * of sultan Osman his predecessor: it excused the prince, but did not abate the anguish, or calm the perturbation of mind of his subjects, anxious for the state of their souls. The sultan himself, not less agitated, conferred continually with the vizir; and every precaution was taken to secure tranquillity in the capital: but what made his concern the greater, was the loss of some sacred relicks of Mahomet; by the display of which

* Upon sultan Mustapha's accession, the kislar-aga, who, in sultan Osman's reign, had removed Ezade Bashaw from Damascus, was, for various misdemeanors, banished by the vizir to Rhodes; but on discovering that his venality and corruption had principally occasioned this deplorable event; the ministry, glad to exculpate themselves and appease the people, by fixing the odium on such an object, sent for his head, which was placed between the Seraglio gates, with a large label on it, expressing, *That he was a traitor to the faith, and the cause of that sacrilegious attack of the Arabs on the Mecca caravan.*

on the prophet's birth-day, he had proposed to augment the devotion, and heighten the solemnity with which that festival is celebrated.

This pilgrimage, of such spiritual importance, has been the cause of all the wars between the Persians and the Ottomans ; for the latter, who are followers of Omar, think the Persians, or the sect of Aly, unworthy of salvation, and no possible objects of divine favour. They would not therefore, were it in their power to prevent it, permit them to enter Mecca, and defile that sacred way, destined for the orthodox only ; but the sect of Aly will not tamely suffer the road of Paradise to be thus barred against them. No earthly claim could excite such cruel vengeance, or cause such horrible effusion of blood, as this dispute has occasioned amongst the different sects of Mahometans.

Hence

Hence it is, that the Persians in all their negotiations of peace with the Ottoman Porte, insist on a full and entire liberty for the followers of Aly to go unmolested on the pilgrimage to Mecca. This important stipulation makes up almost the whole of the treaty of 1746*.

* The emperor of Morocco, with whom the Grand Signor has scarce any connexion, and who is almost unknown at Constantinople, sent very lately two ambassadors, with presents of great value, merely and solely to secure this pilgrimage to his subjects.

C H A P. III.

Of Sects.

WHILST there are men, there will be a diversity of opinions and sentiments, especially concerning matters of faith.

The herd of mankind are, indeed, familiarized with any religion ; the nurse throws in the first ideas, which the parent or priest confirms, and education rivets immoveably ; thus is religion grafted upon nature, and becomes inalienable from the man.

But this remark, though generally true, is not universally so ; many will think for themselves : and of this number, some prompted by enthusiasm and intemperate zeal, others by vanity and false ambition, will be

led to promulge their private conceptions, either on a presumption of truth, or the affectation of singularity, and of differing in opinion from the rest of mankind.

It is absurd for laws to pretend to bridle thought, or to inflict pains and penalties on the understanding: the more the opinions of mankind are restrained, the more they become obstinate, tenacious, and determined; till at length they contract a desperate contempt of all laws and government, and set them at defiance.

We ought therefore by no means to be surpris'd, when we find a variety of sects among Mahometans: no religion from the beginning of the world has been exempt from them. Let them exist, provided the moral order of society is not disturbed; enthusiasm will sometimes rage with greater zeal than wise men would wish; but generally

rally it blazes, and is at last extinguished like an *ignis fatuus*. Thus, indeed, the Turks seem to think ; executions, tortures, pains, and penalties inflicted on account of religion, are never heard of among them.

. If the rites of the established religion are performed, and a convenient conformity observed, they enquire no farther about it.

* Religious disputes are unknown amongst the Turks, though they have

* Mr. Reland, in the preface to his *Relig. Mahomet.* encourages the study of the Arabian language as a means of converting the Mahometans to the Christian religion ; by enabling us to demonstrate to them the falshood and imposture of their own. He acknowledges, that content with their *Koran*, they entrench themselves secure from all assaults of arguments, on the implicit belief of its doctrines, and will not dispute : That, nevertheless, they formerly disputed concerning religion, though in his own time they could not. He supports his opinion by quotations from Sollerus, who tells us,

a diversity of opinions. They have not the art of printing; and I am apt

that Raimond Lully had publicly disputed with Turks in Africa; and from Maracci, who relates, that many missionaries of the church of Rome had done it with success. And farther, * Guadagnola informs us, that a Romanist having written a book called *Speculum verum ostendens*, or, The Mirror of Christianity; Akmed ben Zin Ulabadin answered him, under the title of *Polisher of the Mirror*, &c. and that Abbé Renaudot, in his History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, has collected from several libraries manuscript disputations, of Jews with Turks, of Monks with Jews; of the Metropolitane of Nisibis in Diarbekir with Abulkacem; and, strange to relate, of Abulcoza, or Abucaza's Apologetical Conference in favour of the Christian religion, before the calif Almamon, by Ebna-fal, &c.

I shall only observe, that the Turks are in great measure invariable in their manners and customs; whence in general I must conclude, that their conduct in religious matters remains on much the same plan as that of their ancestors. They are bred to an implicit faith in their *Koran*, so that even a doubt of its veracity is criminal; this Reland confesses: but he surely forgot that Raimond Lully's first ser-

* Professor of the Arabian language at Rome in the last century.

to think, the difficulty of transcribing numerous volumes, and the apprehen-

mon brought on him martyrdom, at the age of eighty, in Mauritania. The fate of St. Stephen prevented him from preaching a second time.

He has likewise forgot that the Romish missionaries from the beginning, and to this day, have dealt merely in imposition and pious fraud : that in the accounts they send to the Propaganda at Rome, they constantly magnify their own merit and success, hoping, by that means, to continue in the liberty they enjoy during their mission ; or if that cannot be effected, to obtain higher estimation and superior employment in their convents at home, so as to render that slavery tolerable, which they generally repent of having submitted to, and which they ascribe either to their own childish inexperience and folly, or to forcible means employed by their parents, desirous of easing an overburthened family ; or else to the intrigue and cajolery of some cunning monk. All this is evident to any unprejudiced man who has conversed with them in Turkey.

Were the apologies Reland mentions, ever published or promulged to Mahometans ? Did not the author of the *Mirror* transform himself into the *Polisher* ? I dare affirm, if they were not the work of the same hand, they were of the same sect ; and that these Conferences were as unknown among Ma-

sion of being betrayed by the transcribers, may be a principal cause that the reveries of individuals have not been diffused amongst numbers.

Whatever enthusiastic refinements, or religious whimsies, therefore, seize a Turk, they centre in himself, and serve at most to entertain the small circle of his intimate friends.

There is, however, one sect in Turkey, principally at Salonica, of a very particular kind: it has sprung from one Sabati Sevi, a Jew of the last century, who pretended to inspiration and the Messiahship, and had many followers. They profess publicly the Mahometan religion, and

hometans, as the authors of them are at present to us. And as there is not a missionary, or Christian, who dares now write, or speak to a Turk about religion; so there never was in those times of still greater barbarism, any one who could have ventured to do either, without undergoing Lully's fate.

retain privately the Jewish rites, much on the principle of the Ebionites, among the first Christians: they intermarry, inhabit together in the same part of the town, and never mix with Mahometans, except on business and commerce, or in the mosques: they never frequent a synagogue, nor acknowledge their schism. It is difficult to conceive how they remain unnoticed by the Turks; or rather, it shews with how easy a composition the latter are content in these matters. An outward profession of their own religion compensates for the private exercise of the other; though were these Jewish Mahometans to profess both, they would be instantly made a public example: death is the doom of an apostate.

Whatever other sects the Mahometans may have among them, their difference is in trifles, and, as we have

already observed, occasions no disputes about religion: and by what can be discovered, they abound more among the *Sibiites*, or Persians, than among the *Sunites*, or orthodox Turks. Possibly, the clear, light Persian clime, is better adapted to produce transcendant flights of imagination, than either the grosser Asiatick, or the Thracian clime; and the exalted Persian language is fitter for that purpose, than the mixed Turkish dialect, compounded, perhaps, of the very dregs of the Persian and Arabian tongues.

It is impossible, we are told, to attain in any other language the immense sublime of Persian poetry; and, indeed, as far as I could find, almost impossible for the best translator to convert it even into common sense. It seems therefore no wonder, since they abound with numberless poets, raised by the highest vein of enthusiasm, that
the

the same spirit should lead them into extravagant, enthusiastic, unconfined flights about religion ; and the rather, as they have not the heathen deities to celebrate as the subject of their song.

But certain it is, that there are among the Turks many philosophical minds. They have the whole systems of the Aristotelian and Epicurean philosophy translated into their own language ; and as they find the latter, which they call the Democritic, cuts more effectually at the root, and is more conformable to their present indolence, ease, and security, they generally adopt it ; so that, perhaps, without their knowing it, they are at once perfect atheists and professed Mahometans.

Superstition and its train are a true basis for atheism ; there is no medium ; from the one extreme the mind is forcibly, tho' imperceptibly, driven to the

other: hence the Turks easily plunge into it; and hence amongst some nations professing Christianity, Materialism is now, with certain ranks of people, the prevailing doctrine.

C H A P. IV.

Of the church-government of the Mahometans, and their civil law.

CHURCH government in Turkey, notwithstanding the mistakes authors have committed on that subject, seems not to be involved in much intricacy. At the institution of Mahometanism, it appears, as if it had centered in the *Mufti*, and the order of *Moulabs*, out of which he must be chosen. It is difficult to say what share they have in it at present; they seem, however, to be considered by most as ecclesiastics, and the *Mufti* as their

their head ; although they are generally and really regarded by the Turks rather as chiefs of the law and expounders of it ; and this, indeed, is their visible and most known office : so that whatever may have been the original institution of the order of *Moulahs*, if they were at first merely churchmen or divines, I think they must be considered as partaking little of that character at present.

Those who really act as divines are the *Imaums*, or parish-priests, who positively officiate in, and are set aside for, the mere service of the mosques. * Their *Scheiks* are the chiefs of their *Dervishes*, or monks, and form reli-

* The *Scheiks* frequently preach with virulence and invective against government ; thence, or from the regard for religion, real or affected, they are mightily caressed and respected by the greatest men in office : the vizirs have generally a favourite one about them, who often behaves with uncommon freedom and assurance.

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gious communities, or orders, established on solemn vows: they consecrate themselves merely to religious offices, domestic devotion, and public prayer and preaching: there are four of these orders, the *Bektasbi*, *Mevelevi*, *Kadri*, and *Seyah**, who are very numerous throughout the empire.

* It may, perhaps, be proper to insert some account of these four orders of Mahometan monks.

1. The *Bektasbi* were founded by one Hagi Bek-tash, whose sepulchre is now in a village called Be-ficktash, on the European side of the Bosphorus, near Galata; the Turks pay it great respect and veneration.

These monks, according to their institution, may marry. They are chiefly met with in country towns or villages, and are obliged to travel through the empire; they must give the *Gazel* and *Efma* to all the Mussulmans they meet, and to them only. The *Gazel* is an affecting tone of voice, which they apply in a special sense to the Divine love. The *Efma* is the invocation of one of the names of God, of which the Turks have one thousand and one.

The *Mevelevi* take their name from their founder Mevelana. These turn round in acts of devotion

No church-revenues, as far as I could learn, are appropriated to the

with such velocity for two or three hours successively, that not even a trace of their countenance is perceivable by a spectator. Music is their delight, particularly a flute made of an Indian reed; they live in their monastery, profess poverty and humility, appear exceeding modest and kind to strangers, receive all those of any religion who come to visit them, and accept alms. They treat strangers of any nation with coffee; and if a Mussulman's feet, or sandals, should be dirty, they offer immediately to wash them. They have a convent in Pera.

3. The *Kadri* are a singular order, whose institute and devotion consists in macerating their bodies; their looks are distracted and irregular; they walk the streets almost naked, rarely covering the thighs; they hold their hands joined together, as if at prayer, except when they dance, which religious exercise they will continue many hours, and sometimes the whole day, repeating incessantly with uncommon vehemence, *Hu! Hu! Hu! Hu!* one of their names of the Deity, until at last, as if they were in violent rage or phrensy, they fall to the ground foaming at the mouth, and bathed with sweat from every part of the body. This order was once abolished, but is since revived. They have a convent between Pera and St. Demetry, and receive all those who go to see them.

parti-

particular use of the *Moulahs*: the *Imaums* are the ecclesiastics in immediate pay.

4. The *Seyah* are like the Indian *Fakirs*, mere vagabonds; they have monasteries; but when once they get abroad, they seldom return. They obtain easily a leave of absence from their superior, on condition of sending a certain quantity of provisions or money to the convent. They are, indeed, insolent sturdy beggars, who will not be refused. When they enter a town or a village, either in the public praying or at the market-place; they stand up, and cry most vehemently, *Good God! send me a thousand dollars! or, a thousand measures of rice! &c.* The people then flock about them, giving alms; and when they find they have exhausted the charity of the place, they march on to another town, and repeat the same practice, until they have collected the sum imposed on them by the superior of their convent.

In general, these itinerant monks are a set of determined villains and thieves, have influence only on the low superstitious part of the vulgar, on which consideration chiefly, it should seem, they are countenanced by the Turks of fashion, who, though they think them no essential part of the Mahometan institute, care not to encourage the superiors of this order, or such amongst them whose pretension to more eminent sanctity has gained an ascendance over the minds of the common people.

Mecca

Mecca and Medina absorb large sums. The repairing and beautifying their mosques, supplying their lamps with oil, and furnishing numberless implements for their use; paying many lay dependants who attend that service; supporting the *Mechtz*, *Medresses*, or publick schools; the *Immarets*, or hospitals for the sick, incurable, or mad, are the other channels in which the remainder of that vast and enormous income is expended.

Most writers on the Mahometan religion, deriving their knowledge from Arabian authors of the very early ages of the *Hegira*, have, I think, too positively blended and confounded it with their present law: for tho' the Turkish government of the church has apparently remained immutable; yet while the chiefs, through necessity on the encrease of the empire, have kept up the
same

same form and power, they have imperceptibly separated the different functions of religion and law. The *Koran* containing political institutes as well as religious dogmas, was probably sufficient to regulate the civil affairs of Mahomet's first followers, a few Arabians, as remarkable for their poverty and the simplicity of their manners, as for their courage and enthusiasm. And the immediate successors of these men, possessed with a religious veneration for this production of their prophet, continued to blend together in the same person, the functions of the priest and that of the judge; and thus confounded for a time religious with civil rights.

But when his followers became numerous, and their dominion was spread over many opulent and extensive regions, not only religious orders sprung
up,

up, to ease the Hierarch of what he thought the drudgery of his office ; but also law-digesters arose, who finding the doctrines of the *Koran* insufficient for the great end of government, viz. the preserving of good order, and the well-being of civil society, have remedied its defects without appearing to derogate from its authority, or risking to alienate the least part of that implicit obedience, and profound veneration, which the people paid to it. For under pretence of compiling commentaries, as a simple extension of the angel's or the prophet's ideas, but still keeping to the very language of the *Koran* ; they have provided volumes of civil law, equal and similar to the Code, Pandects, or Digest ; with interpretations as clear and copious as those of *Cujas* and *Domat*.

Abou

About Hanife is one of the first and chief of those who have thus commented on the *Koran*: his books, and those of his disciples, are the rule of law under the Turkish government in Europe and Asia.

In this manner the original institutes were augmented, so far as related to civil and criminal cases; indeed it must have been necessary to form new regulations, when conquest, riches, and luxury, had introduced new crimes, and new subjects of contention. And thus, it should seem, the ecclesiastical and the civil first became, in some measure, distinct and separate departments; the *Moulabs*, *Muftis*, &c. presiding in the courts of justice, and the *Imaums*, &c. officiating in the mosques; though still the exact boundaries of each jurisdiction are hard to be defined.

The

The ingenious president Montesquieu*, led by precarious authorities, has excluded the Turks from all right to private property; from all claim to successions; from all inheritances in families; and, indeed, from all the advantages of the † civil law. In short, he seems to think, that the Grand Signor's despotism swallows up every right of the subject throughout that empire.

When I see the excellent reasoning, and the many judicious consequences deduced from such erroneous principles, by so acute and penetrating a genius; I cannot help thinking it a striking instance of our propensity to error, and of the fallacy which we sometimes find even in the most plausible arguments,

* L'Esprit des Lois, lib. v. cap. xiv. & xv,

† L'Esprit des Lois, lib. vi. c. i,

Without appealing to fact, the single chapter in the *Koran* intitled * *Women*, would have shewn him how successions in families, and to male, or female, or wives, are fixed and regulated by the prophet; and consequently, how far private property is secured by law beyond the reach, and out of the power, of the sultan.

The other part needed but a single enquiry; he might easily have been informed by what method they actually determine causes in their courts of justice; and what † books they use

* Chap. IV. in Sale's Translation.

† *Extract out of a Law-Book used in the Turkish Courts, written by Hafne.* [Chap. of Sales.]

Sales are made when the one consents and the other accepts, explaining himself by the preterit of the Indicative Mood; now when any one of the contracting parties consents to sell or to buy, the other shall be at liberty to accept, or not, so long as they remain in the place where the bargain is to be made.

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in Turkey as authorities for their legal decisions: he would have found

But if the one consents, and the other departs from that place before accepting, the bargain is void.

The sale is concluded when both positively agree; then neither the one nor the other can be off, except some fault or defect should be found in the thing sold, or the buyer had not seen it.

It is not necessary to know the quantity of goods exposed to sale, in order to bargain for the whole; for though a price is specified, the sale is not valid until the quantity and quality are known.

Sales may be for ready money, or on credit, fixing the time of payment; and when the specie in which the goods are to be paid for is not specified, it is to be understood the most current money of the country; but if there are different species of current-money, the sale is not valid without fixing the particular specie.

All eatables may be sold, and all sorts of grain by the established *measure*, or without it; either by taking a vase or tub of any kind, the exact contents of which are unknown; or by weight, taking a stone for a weight, the real weight of which is unknown.

Selling a quantity of any eatables at a drachm the *Casix*, the sale shall be valid for one *Casix*, accord-

several, which formally stipulate, and fix, the terms and legality of a pur-

ing to the opinion of Abu Hanife : but when the seller declares how many *Cafiz* there are, or may be, then according to his two disciples the whole is sold.

He that sells a flock of sheep, at a drachm a sheep, the sale will not hold for the whole flock.

In like manner for a piece of stuff, or silk, at a drachm the ell, he must mention the number of sheep or ells.

If a quantity of eatables of a hundred *Cafiz* is sold at a hundred drachms, and there are found less; the buyer will be at liberty to take them in paying only for what there is, or he may refuse the whole : but if there are more than an hundred measures, or *Cafiz*, he must restore the surplus to the seller.

But he that buys a piece of stuff, or silk, on the footing of ten ells at ten drachms, or, one hundred cubits of land at a hundred drachms ; if less is found, he is at liberty to take them for the said sum, or to leave them ; if there are more than what is agreed for, they belong to him, and the seller has no right to the surplus.—But if the seller declares that the land contains a hundred cubits, and that the price is a hundred drachms, or a drachm the cubit ; in that case, if there are more or less, the buyer is at liberty to take it at a drachm the cubit, or to leave it.

If a bale of silks or stuffs, said to contain fifty pieces, is sold at fifty aspers, or at one asper the

chase,

chase, whether of lands, houses, corn, cattle, or merchandize. From these it may be presumed, he would have acquired a notion of Turkish despotism very different from that which he has adopted.

The *Moulahs*, however, whether considered as churchmen or lawyers, enjoy great immunities, which descend uninterruptedly to their families. Their

piece, and that there should be found fewer pieces ; the buyer may take what the bale contains at an asper the piece, or he may refuse the whole ; but if there are more than fifty pieces, the bargain is void.

When a house is sold, all the buildings belonging to it are included in the bargain, tho' not expressly mentioned ; or on the sale of a piece of ground, the palm, or other trees standing in it shall be included, though not specified ; but the herbs, or other greens, growing in it are not comprehended.

If the palm, or other trees are sold with the fruit on them, the fruit will belong to the seller, unless they are particularized in the bargain ; but then the buyer can oblige him to gather the fruit immediately.

If fruit is sold on the tree, whether it proves good or bad, the bargain is valid, and the buyer must gather it immediately.

lives and estates are generally secure ; their greatest punishment in office, even for malversation, is exile ; and if they are not too obnoxious to government, they may sometimes compound for that by a pecuniary donation. All the profitable employments of the law are in their hands ; they are sent out as *Muftis*, or judges, throughout the chief towns of the empire, whence they are promoted to the high office of *Cadilesquier*, or chief justice, either of *Romelia*, or of *Anatolia* ; that is, of Europe, or of Asia ; and at last to that of *Sheik Islam*, or *Mufti*, at Constantinople.

C H A P. V.

Of the Koran.

I SHALL not pretend to enter into a minute analysis of the several doctrines of the *Koran*, but confine myself to some general observations.

MR. SALE has given us an elaborate account of that book, in the Preliminary Discourse to his excellent translation. I am, however, sorry to say, that he frequently discovers an inclination to apologize for it; and rather endeavours to reconcile and palliate the numerous absurdities he meets with, than to expose them in the light they deserve. One advantage, however, we derive from this humour of his; we may be certain he has not added an absurdity to those he found,

nor given any of them a more ridiculous dress than they wear in the original.

Some heterodox manufacturers of wit, desirous of appearing singular, tho' at the expence of common sense, if not of common honesty, have not scrupled to profess themselves admirers of the *Koran*, have extolled its doctrines, and dared even to put them on a parallel with those established by our sacred writings.

Mahomet, superior to his countrymen in parts and science, resolved to be supreme in command. To effect this, he had but one game to play, which was to impose himself on them as a prophet divinely inspired, and his book as an immediate revelation from the Almighty. In this he could inculcate what doctrines, and assign himself what pre-eminence and authority he pleased: in short, his book was of
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the utmost consequence to him. He therefore, very artfully, took for its prototype truth itself, the Mosaic and Christian revelations : For in his travels to Egypt, as well as at home among the Christians and Jews in Arabia, who were fugitives on account of religion, he must have observed the force with which these genuine revelations had captivated the minds of men ; and for this reason, without impugning either, he declares the latter of them to be only a sequel of the former, and that his own is a continuation of both, and completes the whole dispensation of Divine Providence. This he has judiciously seasoned with what he knew would render it most acceptable to his countrymen, and appears most predominant in himself, the indulgence of their lust and avarice in this world, and a most sensual paradise in the next.

His

His first step was to persuade his ignorant Arabians, that the *Koran* is an extract taken from the great book, in which, at the creation of the world, the Divine decrees were all written and deposited at the same time in one of the sub-firmamental heavens ; and that from thence it was faithfully delivered to him, verse by verse, by the angel Gabriel. Hence, in his chapter, *Al Kadr*, he tells them himself, from the mouth of the Almighty, “ Verily, “ we sent down the *Koran* in the “ night of *Al Kadr* ; and what shall “ make thee understand how excellent “ the night of *Al Kadr* is ? The night “ of *Al Kadr* is better than a thousand “ months : therein do the angels descend, and the spirit Gabriel also, “ by permission of their Lord, with his “ decrees concerning every matter. It is “ peace until the visiting of the morn*.”

* Sale's Transl. Of Divine decrees, ch. xcvi:

On this passage principally, is founded the claim of the *Koran* to a celestial origin, and to the character of the all-beauteous and all-perfect work of the Creator; and hence that most profound veneration, amounting almost to adoration, which the Mahometans pay to it. They fancy a chapter or verse can cure them of all diseases, preserve them from all accidents, or external evils; prolong life, and render it healthful and prosperous. A thorough ablution is necessary before they presume to touch this sacred book; the sight of an infidel pollutes it; and when they read they must hold it above their middle, to preserve it from approaching the region of impurity and defilement.

The Turks are eternally puzzled to know when, or which night, this *Al Kadr* may be: they think it must be in *Ramadan*; and many enthusiasts imagine them-

themselves to have, at that time, extratic communications with the angelic spirits who descend from the heavenly spheres.

Mahomet, though so crafty and so able an impostor, did not, however, dare pretend to miracles, that great criterion of Divine truth, and main basis of those genuine revelations he endeavoured to imitate, and which he confesses to have been wrought * in attestation of their Divine origin. Many urged him to produce them ; many asked of him signs ; and he seems in sundry parts of the *Koran*, more embarrassed to evade the charge of impostor, incurred by not manifesting his vocation by these signs, than to establish his doctrines. His own uncle and relations seemed, on that account, to detest his imposition ; and it is evi-

* Sal. Transl. ch. v. 27.

dent from the text, that he had often found his very women rebellious ; it is probable they likewise expected miracles : for he tells us, there were only four of them good and obedient.

When he is pressed for this proof of his mission, he shifts the want of it on the will of the Deity ; “ * They (the “ Infidels) have sworn, says he, by “ God, by the most solemn oath, that “ if a sign come unto them they would “ certainly believe therein : verily, signs “ are in the power of God alone, and “ he permitteth you not to understand, that when they come, they “ (the Infidels) will not believe; and “ we will turn aside their hearts and “ their sight from the truth, as they “ believed not therein the first time ; “ and we will leave them to wander in “ their error.” He then recommends

* Ch. vi. entitled Cattle, p. 110. Sal. Transl.

them

them to believe implicitly in the *Koran*.

On another occasion he uses the same dexterity. “ * The Infidels say, unless
 “ a sign be sent down unto him (to
 “ Mahomet) from his Lord, we will
 “ not believe. The Lord’s answer;
 “ Thou art commissioned *to be a preacher*
 “ *only*, and not *a worker of miracles*; and
 “ unto every people *hath a director been*
 “ *appointed*. God knoweth what every
 “ female beareth in her womb, and
 “ what the wombs want or exceed of
 “ their due time or number of young.”
 The conclusion of this paragraph is curious; it is a short digression upon wombs, which leaves the beginning upon miracles quite out of sight.

By these quotations we may perceive what evidence his external signs of Divine mission carried with them; and

* Ch. xiii. entit. Thunder, p. 201.

as to the internal, they are so far from recommending it, that the most of his doctrines and precepts, those properly his own, are trivial and unworthy the slightest attention. The precepts and commands copied from the Mosaic dispensation, of which there are many, or those from the Christian, may command some regard; although those from the latter favour of the corrupt channel they have passed through; for if he preaches the duties of benevolence, and the forgiveness of injuries, it is not with that universal, beneficent, diffused principle, recommended in the gospels indiscriminately to all mankind: he confines these virtues undoubtedly to the narrow limits of his own sect. For they are neither to live nor commune with unbelievers; and so far from being enjoined to forgive them, they are commanded to injure
and

and to subdue them : and God knows, it is but too evidently shewn by their practice how much they honour the precept.

It is, indeed, a pleasant part of the *Koran*, which represents the Divine communications descending so low as to regulate the minuter interests, family concerns, and amorous passions of Mahomet ; it must give us a pretty just notion both of the prophet and his people, as well as of those sceptics who have expressed so favourable an opinion of his book. For illustration, let us hear the awful commands of the Almighty imposed on the prophet's rebellious wives, &c. on so important an occasion as the vexatious demand they made for fine clothes : to satisfy this demand was a difficulty, perhaps, too arduous for the power of man alone to overcome.

“* O Prophet, say unto thy wives,
 “If ye seek the present life and the
 “*pomp thereof*, come, I will make a
 “handsome provision for you, and I
 “will dismiss you with an honourable
 “dismissal; but if you seek God,
 “and his apostle, and the life to come,
 “verily, God hath prepared for such
 “of you as work righteousness a great
 “reward, O wives of the prophet,
 “whosoever of you shall commit a
 “manifest wickedness, the punishment
 “thereof shall be doubled unto her
 “two-fold; and this is easy with
 “God: but whosoever of you shall be
 “obedient unto God and his apostle,
 “and shall do what is right, he will
 “give her her reward twice, and we
 “have prepared for her an honour-
 “able provision in *Paradise*. O wives
 “of the Prophet, ye are not as other

* Koran, ch. xxxiii. p. 345, 356. Sal. Transl.

“women ; if ye fear God, be not too
 “complaisant in speech, lest he should
 “covet, in whose heart is a disease
 “of incontinence. — Sit still in your
 “houses, and set not yourselves forth
 “with the ostentation of the former
 “time of ignorance. Observe the ap-
 “pointed time of prayer, give alms
 “—and obey God and his apostle ;
 “for God desireth only to remove
 “from you the abominations of va-
 “nity, &c.”

Termagant and rebellious wives
 were the least punishment that a man
 of the prophet's insatiable passion de-
 served ; instead of four, the number
 he allowed his followers, and surely
 sufficient to break the ease, and de-
 stroy the happiness of any one man
 living, he again brings down the
 Deity to grant him an unlimited
 permission, and even to direct his a-
 mours. If he had been smothered un-
 der

der them all, it would have been a just death for such extravagant lubricity. *Satia te sanguine*, was the saying of the Scythian queen, when she plunged Cyrus's head into a vessel of blood.— But let us hear again his revelation.

“* O Prophet, we have allowed thee
 “thy wives, unto whom thou hast
 “given thy dower; and also the slaves
 “which thy right hand possesseth, of
 “the booty which God hath granted
 “thee; and the daughters of thy un-
 “cle, and the daughters of thy aunts,
 “both on thy father's side, and on thy
 “mother's side, who have fled with
 “thee from *Mecca*; and any other be-
 “lieving woman, if she give herself un-
 “to the prophet, in case the prophet
 “desireth to take her to wife. This is
 “a peculiar privilege *granted* unto thee
 “above the rest of the true believers;

* Koran, ch. xxxiii. Sal. Transl. p. 348, 349.

“ we know what we have ordained
 “ them concerning their wives, and the
 “ slaves whom their right hands pos-
 “ sels, lest it should be deemed a crime
 “ in thee *to make use of the privilege granted*
 “ *thee*; for God is gracious and mer-
 “ ciful. Thou mayst postpone the *turn*
 “ *of such of thy wives as thou shalt please*, in
 “ *being called to thy bed*; and thou mayst
 “ take unto thee her whom thou shalt
 “ please, and her whom thou shalt
 “ desire, of those whom thou shalt have
 “ before rejected, and it shall be no
 “ crime in thee; this will be more
 “ easy, that they *may be intirely content*, and
 “ may not be grieved, but may be well
 “ pleased with what thou shalt give
 “ every one of them.—O true be-
 “ lievers, enter not the house of the
 “ prophet, unless it be permitted you
 “ to eat meat with him, without wait-
 “ ing his convenient time.—And when
 “ ye ask of the prophet’s wives what
 “ ye

“ ye may have occasion for, ask *it* of
 “ them from behind a curtain ; this
 “ will be more pure for your hearts
 “ and their hearts. Neither is it fit
 “ for you to give any uneasiness to the
 “ apostle of God, or to marry his
 “ wives after him for ever ; for this
 “ would be a grievous thing in the
 “ sight of God.”

Mahomet's paradise flowing with delicious waters, planted with the most odoriferous trees and shrubs ; but above all, the exalted enjoyment of black-eyed nymphs, would lead me farther than I intend.

The few quotations produced here, merely to save the reader the trouble of recurring to the *Koran* itself, may sufficiently evince what marks of fanciness, and of a divine mission, we must expect from it : they will likewise demonstrate, how abject an idea the false prophet, and his ignorant followers, must

have had of the Divine perfections ; how contradictory passages such as these must be, to those pompous and sublime descriptions of the attributes of the Deity, with which they are most impiously mixt. I shall follow Mahomet no farther in his filth and impurity, but say with the prophet Habakkuk, " he that runs may read."

I must however observe, that some of his laws, if not rigidly just, are yet an effectual security against despotism, and the oppression of the people, especially such as relate to private property, widows, orphans, inheritances, legacies, and crimes, &c.

One conclusion I think so clear, that it must be evident to all sagacious and impartial men ; it is that the whole *Koran* is a discordant, incoherent jumble of sentences, gleaned from fugitive Jews and Christian sectaries, Nestorians, Monothelites, and Eutychians ;

strangely

strangely huddled together by the false prophet, and imposed on ignorant enthusiastic people, who could not give a stronger mark of barbarism than in believing it to be the word of God.

We possess many good translations of this extraordinary book, made from genuine and standard copies of the original: excellent ones were found among the Granadine Moors by cardinal Ximenes; and correct copies may always be purchased in Turkey; tho' at a high rate. Indeed, there is scarce a risque or possibility of being imposed on; for the Mahometans hold it as the highest sacrilege to alter a single point or jota of this their sacred book: and most men of letters amongst them, like the Jews in Palestine, think it not only a duty, but a special recommendation to the Deity and his prophet, to have every word and tittle of the *Koran* so fixed and imprinted in their

memories, that they may on any occasion repeat it extempore.

Du Ryer's French translation may err in the idiom, but the general doctrines are sufficiently exact; Maracci's Latin one is very correct; and that in English by Mr. Sale, is undoubtedly, in every respect, of approved accuracy.

As I happened to converse on this subject with a learned *Effendi*, who was known to have the *Koran* by heart; a chapter from Sale's translation was explained to him in the vulgar Turkish dialect: the old Turk, in a sort of rapturous surprise, followed the interpreter; repeating verse by verse in the original Arabick. He remained astonished and amazed; and asked with some emotion, how we could have so perfect a translation, the sense so justly preserved? He added, that the author must have been an admirable proficient

cient in the Arabian language, and a very great man.

I cannot conclude this chapter without observing, that from what I have said of the practical religion of the Mahometans, we are not to infer that they are universally, and without exception, destitute of virtue; nor of all humanity towards strangers. I have already, in my general character of the Turks, anticipated this remark as far as I could consistently with truth. I cannot help, however, repeating it; bad as they are, they are the best people in their empire.

That corrupt religion perverts the rectitude of nature, and that the Turks are notoriously depraved by it, is too true; but how many absurd sects of Christians are there, who, deviating from the original institutes and pure precepts of Christianity, are strangers to that perfect simplicity and universal

sal benevolence inculcated by its sacred founder ; and are as destitute of social virtue and common humanity towards those who differ from them in opinion, as the most zealous and ignorant Turk ?

C H A P. VI.

Of Despotism, and its Restraints.

MANKIND, either from habit and the prejudices of education, or from presumption and opinion, are apt to think the government of their own country the best ; hence they are led to censure other modes of administration, point out their defects, and frequently, without sufficient knowledge even to revile and abuse them.

The government of the Turkish empire has been grossly misrepresented by

cenſures of this kind. The ſhocking relations of its deſpotiſm have miſſed ſome, and raiſed the religious zeal of others to abhorrence and deteſtation ; while many, not under the influence of religious paſſions, have felt their nature ſhudder at the frightful idea conveyed by thoſe accounts. Hence, notwithſtanding the regular ſyſtem of that haughty court, people have been induced to annex the idea of barbariſm to it ; have ſuppoſed it, without order or plan ; entirely ſubject to the caprice, cruelty, and avarice of a tyrant, who aims merely at the oppreſſion of his ſubjects, and, as far as his power extends, at the deſtruction of mankind.

Surely theſe men did not, or would not, look nearer home : it was, perhaps, too near ; for let us only caſt an eye about us, and impartially examine
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the governments with which we are furrounded, we shall then in all probability find, that the Sultan is not more despotic than many Christian fove-reigns; perhaps, not so much as some of them.

Although it be absurd to look for perfection in any body of laws, or political institutions; since the productions of the human mind, from its limited nature, must all be imperfect; yet, we may fairly conclude, that in every empire which has extended wide, and flourished long, there are some parts of its constitution wisely regulated. And it is certain, that whatever defects may be in the political system of the Turks, their empire is so solidly founded on the basis of religion, combined with law, and cemented by general enthusiasm, and the interest, as well as vanity of Turkish individuals,

duals, that as it has lasted now for some time, it bids fair for a stability of many ages.

We have seen, in a former chapter, that the Turks have laws to secure property and regulate commerce ; they have others to punish crimes and restrain vice. It is not the Turkish laws, but the corrupt administration of them, the flagitious venality of their judges, and the number of false witnesses connived at, and whose testimony is accepted by these judges, that bring an * opprobrium upon the Turkish empire, as will be more fully shewn in a succeeding chapter.

How far Mahomet intended to limit, or extend the power of the sovereign, I shall not pretend to determine ; the degree in which the present sultans

* A system of government and of laws may be in themselves excellent, when the administration of both may be corrupt.

are absolute, is an enquiry more to the purpose. Of this, facts will best enable us to judge: those we shall produce will shew us the nature of the Turkish monarch's despotism; and that, independent of fear, the constant companion and restraint of tyrants, he is limited by religion and law. But we shall first consider his claim to inherit the possessions of some of his subjects.

Those who are directly employed in his service, and those less immediately so; for example, the officers under Bashaws in distant provinces, know that they hold their offices on a kind of feudal tenure: they, notwithstanding, eagerly solicit, and contentedly accept them on that condition; submitting, or, it may be said, covenanting and agreeing, that the sovereign should inherit at their death.

The affinity of this law or custom with the tenures of the old feudal law, transferred, in this instance, from lands to office, would lead us to think it had its origin from those tenures ; for they prevailed over almost all the known world, at the time the *Koran* was framed ; and subsisted amongst ourselves long after the Conquest.

By these tenures, lands held in fief reverted on the death of the holder, absolutely and irrevocably to the feudal prince, or lord : the family were left to shift as well as they could for subsistence ; they had no claim of recovery, nor even a pretension to relief in their necessities, except from mere commiseration and humanity.

Mahomet, either by chance or design, has effectually secured the people from the immediate inconvenience and oppression of that tenure.

Estates,

Estates, in land or houses, annexed to the church, either in actual possession, or in reversion, are held both by prince and people sacred and inviolable: those persons, therefore, by whatever means they acquire their possessions, who give the reversion to religious foundations, transmit them unmolestedly and unalienably to their direct male issue: Mecca and Medina are the places generally preferred, because held the most sacred.

They call this settlement *Vacuf*: they pay an annual, very trifling, quit-rent, until the extinction of that issue, when the whole devolves to the religious foundation on which it is settled.

This previous law, or tie of religion, binds the prince to so rigid an observance, that there has never been a single example of even an attempt to violate or reverse it.

For, independent of what he may conceive his duty towards God, or his prophet, the least breach of such a law destroys the very foundation of his throne: it is merely by the *Koran*, or its religious institutes, his sovereignty exists; the moment he abandons those doctrines, or violates those laws, he becomes an infidel, and ceases to be the lawful sovereign.

Mahomet has not limited this law of security merely to his own followers; it extends to all religions; Christians or Jews may avail themselves of it. And as most of them, led by ambition or interest, aspire to enjoy more or less the countenance and favour of the great officers in government, they generally take the advantage of that protection, to settle their possessions either on Mecca or Medina; or, perhaps, with greater facility, on some of the several mosques at Constantinople, or

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where-

wherever else their fancy or connexions may lead them ; it is enough that it be a religious foundation.

The Jews, indeed, have been excluded some mosches ; as it appeared by the registers, that in the space of a hundred years, not a single reversion fell in ; whence the Turks, it should seem, have concluded, that the direct male issue of the sons of Abraham is eternal.

From what has been said of the *Vacuf*, it is obvious, and worth observing, that the revenues belonging to the church must be immense ; and that in succession of time it must swallow up into its enormous bosom, almost all the lands and possessions of that vast empire.

C H A P. VII.

*Facts to elucidate the foregoing notions of the
Turkish government.*

THE Grand Seignor is considered as absolute sovereign of the whole Turkish empire; the subjects approaching him treat him as a divinity, with the highest veneration and respect. He should, strictly adhering to their constitution, delegate his absolute power to the Vizir. This was practised by most of them from Mahomet the Ild's time to 1730.

The rebellion that year, the deposition of Sultan Achmet, and the accession of his nephew Machmut, gave a new turn to the constitution. There was, at that time, in the seraglio, where he generally acts as first minister, a *Kisslar-Aga*, or chief of the black eunuchs, an experienced and wise man :

he had been in office under Machmut's father, predecessor to the deposed Achmet ; he had seen two rebellions, two depositions of the sovereign, observed the cause, traced the evil, and pointed out the remedy.

The cause he ascribed to the permanent continuance and absolute power of the Vizirs ; to their ambition of glory, and restless disposition for war and conquest. He therefore counselled the new Sultan to retain the power in his own hands ; to change his Vizirs frequently, not suffering any one to continue in office above three years, and to live in peace with all his neighbours. On these maxims he advised his master to establish the tranquility of government, and the security of the throne ; and Sultan Machmut, during a reign of twenty-four years, steadily adhered to them.

This

This black eunuch lived to the age of ninety; he died in 1746, and was succeeded by his favourite *Bekir-Aga*, a young black, about thirty-three years of age, born in the island of Borneo. Full of spirit and vigour, he found himself, by the policy of his late master, in possession of absolute power, and hastened to exert it; but he wanted the wisdom, the judgment, the knowledge of mankind, and the experience his predecessor possessed; his will became his law, and he set no bounds to his avarice.

Intoxicated with higher ideas than his understanding could support, and enslaved to avarice, he madly, and without foreseeing consequences, though he could trample under his feet law and religion, and began to exert his power as if neither had any existence: he laid it down as a maxim, That no man in the empire should be worth above

10,000 * dollars, and acted as if he would not leave them an asper.

The rage of his passion was for diamonds, jewel-work, and rich-toys ; probably, indeed, to lay in a stock of portable wealth for an evil day, and to live in splendor at Cairo, the usual place of the exile of those discarded favourites. During the six years of his administration, one would have thought that he intended to exhaust all Europe of diamonds, and purchase the whole produce of the mines of Golconda and Brazil.

The instruments of his extortion were, a young slave, twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, and an Armenian raised from the dust. The government of that vast empire centered in the hands of this junto. When any

* A dollar makes 120 aspers, and is worth two shillings and six pence.

large purchase of diamonds was to be made, the means were concerted among these three how to raise the money : they sagaciously divided the necessary sum into parts ; they then applied to a number of opulent great men, who were, or had been in office ; and giving them to understand it was to purchase presents intended for the sovereign, they assigned a part on each until they had completed the whole sum. No one dared repine, nor even hesitate ; some were silent thro' fear ; others, perhaps most of them, from the expectation of future favours.

This rapine was variously talked of ; some ascribed it to the prince, others to the Black and his associates ; but the more general voice gave it to the former, who certainly could not be entirely ignorant of the extortions practised by his minister. They occasioned, how-

ever, no commotions or disturbances.

Highly in the Sultan's confidence and favour, he might, indeed, have gone on with these and other irregularities some time without controul ; but his first successes spirited him on to enormous acts of power against all decency, law, and religion ; he not only meddled with dependent, but even with independent people. He injudiciously offended the body of Janissaries, by stopping the pay of some, and withholding the money which had been promised them for rebuilding their *Odda's*, or chambers, lately burnt down ; and at last, he struck against those whom he had feared most, the men of the law.

An important cause was depending before the *Moulab* or judge of Scutari, a man of singular resolution. The party who was in the wrong applied to the

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the Black and his creatures for protection, and backed his request with a large present. The junto undertook it, and sent a message to the judge, that he should decide the cause in favour of their friend: he answered, that he would pronounce according to law, and his own conscience; and on various like solicitations, he as constantly persisted in the same answer.

The day he was on the bench to hear, and finally determine the cause, a * *Chibadar* of the Black's entered the court-room with precipitation, and heard the sentence pronounced against their friend. He abused and threatened the *Moulah*, drew out a short whip they generally wear, and, some pretend, went so far as not only to shake and menace, but to strike.

* Head servant,

This unprecedented insult on law and religion, stirred up the *Moulab* to seek redress and revenge: he applied to the *Mufti*, who sent him to the Vizir. That minister sought, by all possible methods, to pacify him: every offer was rejected, even that of the *Moulalick* of Iconium, the best in the empire. The men of the law supported their brother, and murmured with deep indignation. What heightened their resentment was, that whilst the Vizir capitulated with the *Moulab*, the Black rewarded his *Chiobadar* with a lucrative commission abroad.

The Black and his dependants perceived the storm arising; they found they could not silence the *Moulab*, and therefore determined his destruction. This could not be done openly; but, blinded by rage, passion, and despair, they were unable to concert their destructive

destructive scheme with their usual diabolical subtlety, or to perpetrate their villany with that secrecy, which the dangerous consequence of so atrocious a crime required.

The bungling project they hit upon was to send ruffians in the dead of the night, who strangled the *Moulah* and his daughter in their beds: in the mean time, they cut the wooden pillars supporting the house, and so demolished it, that it might appear as if they had been accidentally buried under the ruins.

The time, the manner, and other circumstances, led to a clear discovery of this horrid transaction. The men of the law became desperately resolved on vengeance, and joined secretly with some chiefs of the Janissaries; but determined to spare the sovereign, provided he gave up his Black, the obnoxious *Kislar-Aga*.

The

The difficulty lay how to make their first grievances known to him : if through the Black Eunuch, the natural channel, any two or three complainants risked sudden destruction, without effecting what they desired ; if secretly to the Sultan, they were not sure of a better fate. They found, therefore, only one method which might effectually awaken, intimidate, and inform him ; that was, by setting Constantinople on fire.

Fires broke out every day in two or three different parts of that city, and this conflagration lasted near three weeks. The Grand Seignor finding the evil deep, and carried on by design, deposed the Vizir ; a sacrifice he imagined would appease the rage of discontent : but he found that expedient was insufficient ; for the next day as many fires appeared. At the last he was advised, as it was said by some,

some, to consult secretly the *Mufti*; or, as others report, that chief of the law went to him spontaneously, and boldly laid the conduct of the Black before him, demanded justice, and told him, he exposed the security of his own throne in refusing it; urged the necessity of taking some immediate resolution against the Black; adding, if the Sultan would not give *Bechir* the *Kislar-Aga* up, he desired leave to resign his own office, that he might rather as a private man see the dreadful catastrophe of his prince's fall, than as the head of the law be constrained to consent to it.

Sure it is, that the *Mufti* was really a man of that stoical self-denying turn, that heroic mind, as to dare hold such language, and undertake this harsh and hazardous message to his sovereign, who immediately giving attention to this alarming remonstrance, determined

terminated to get rid of the Black, and to exile him to Cairo.

On one of his usual days of recreation, the Sultan went by water to a *Kbiofc*, or summer-house, on the Bosphorus : the * *Boftangi Bafhi* and *Selichtar-Aga*, who always accompany him, had already received his orders. The Black was of the party ; they seized on him at his landing, forced him into a boat, and imprisoned him in Leander's tower †, where he was to wait for the galley designed to transport him to Cairo.

The sight of the galley excited fresh remonstrances from the law ; they de-

* The *Boftangi Bafhi* always steers the Sultan's boat ; he is the chief of the *Boftangees*, or gardeners, who occasionally form a considerable military corps : the *Selichtar-Aga* is the Sultan's sword-bearer, and constantly attends him.

† Situated on an island, in the port of Constantinople.

manded the delinquent's blood, and obliged the Grand Seigneur, tho' with the utmost reluctance, to consent to his execution.

The high spirit of the Black was changed to desperation at the sight of the executioner ; he resolutely defended himself with his *Hanjar*, or knife, against that officer : he wounded him ; and fell at last but by the superiority of the scimitar : his body lay exposed three days on the sea-shore.

This catastrophe was followed by daily executions of all his creatures and dependants, his slave, his Armenian, and his secretaries ; many others were exiled.

The sums confiscated by death and exile were immense. What passed thro' the *Tefderdarat*, or public treasury, and was afterwards paid into the Grand Seigneur's *Chafne*, or private treasury, collected from without, amounted to

30,500 purfes, or a million nine hundred thoufand pounds fterling. What was found within the Seraglio, in diamonds, jewel-work, and gold, was never known ; but in general affured to be as much more, or far exceeding it.

This moft rare and remarkable fact in their hiftory, and which fo immediately and intimately affected abfolute power, might fingly fhew how law at laft can effectually controul it, and bring the fovereign, as it was well known in this cafe, againft every fentiment of love and affection, and almoft without a precedent or example, to abandon the governor of his Seraglio, and at that time of his empire, to the utmoft rigour of the juftice of law.

But that even the Sultan thinks himfelf bound by law, is evident from his practice ; for when any treaty is to be made, any war to be undertaken, or tranfgreffions punifhed that have been
com-

committed against himself, or by persons of high rank in his service ; he applies to the *Mufti* for his *Fetfa*, his decree, his decision, or legal sanction.

It is true, as he appoints the *Mufti*, he can depose and exile him, the worst fate that can befall him. It is also as true, that many of them, in different reigns, have actually withstood the will of the Sultan ; and that the sovereign, notwithstanding, has not dared immediately to resent their non-compliance. On these occasions it has been judged necessary to invent some more plausible pretence for disgracing them : the people would in this case be too clamorous with the argument against violent proceedings ; and those of the law alone might shake his throne.

The *Koran*, we have observed, secures property ; of which the following fact is a remarkable instance.

In the year 1755, the * *Porte* was burnt entirely down : on rebuilding it the consideration was, how to place it on the former spot, and at the same time render the situation secure from a like accident for the future.

The method determined on, was, to leave a sufficient space about it, and for that end to purchase and demolish several houses that were contiguous. Most of the owners submitted to a sale ; but there was one old woman who declared she could not, and would not, part with hers ; that it had been a property in her family for several generations, and no money could compensate the infinite value it was of to her : no offers tempted her, no threats could avail. The men in power cried

* The *Porte* is the palace in which the Vizir resides : in it all the archives are kept, and all public business is transacted.

out and abused her ; but the injustice appeared too violent to dare take it by force ; the house stood ; and when it was asked why the Sultan did not use his authority, so as to take it, and pay the value ? the answer was, *'Tis impossible, it cannot be done, it is her property.*

Notwithstanding the transcendant expressions the Turks use, when speaking of their Sovereign, they will frequently murmur, talk freely, abuse him and his ministers, throw anonymous scurrilous papers into the mosches, and seem even ripe for rebellion, if irritated by frequent and unusual exertions of tyranny. They are taught that he is established by God, that he is a descendent of their prophet, through whose mediation they expect salvation ; and yet in a moment they will deprive him of his throne, of his liberty, and even of his life.

This may appear only a single instance of the immense number of seeming contradictions in the composition of human nature: though, indeed, it might with other such instances be accounted for, by what an elegant * free writer has attempted to prove, that men do not generally act according to principles.

Although I think his proposition too general, it is, I fear, in great part true; for, that there are many men who do not act according to principle, is but too evident: this might therefore, in appearance, furnish a solution; but here would be misapplied and insufficient; for the whole of what the Turks are taught relating to government, is not taken into the case; and therefore the fact is not fairly represented.

* Bayle.

For they learn very early, that if the authority of the prince is of right divine, he founds it on the *Koran*; that he is constituted such by that sacred code of laws; which, as a true believer, he has studied, so as to be convinced, before his accession to the throne, that it must ever be his duty to observe them; and that, consequently, he is as much bound and tied by all those laws as the meanest of his subjects.

This is so explicitly and fully laid down in the *Koran*, that Mahomet thought it necessary to throw in some rules of exception expressly for himself.

Hence when the people are notoriously aggrieved; their property, or that of the church, repeatedly violated; when the prince will riot in blood, or carry on an unsuccessful war; they appeal to *Law*, pronounce him an in-

fidel, a tyrant, an unjust man, incapable to govern; and, in consequence, depose and imprison, or destroy him.

They, it is true, consult first their own power, or the probability of success, rather than the rectitude of the action, but always under the sanction of the law, directed by some leading person of that body. And it may be affirmed, that no example will be found of a deposition of a Sultan in Turkey, but a form of law, either true or false, has been observed: nay, it seems absolutely necessary; for it has always been practised, that either the *Mufti*, or * the *Nakib of Santa Sophia*, or of *Eiup*, or at least, some distinguished man of the law, should enter the *Se-raglio*, or tent, and even declare the

* Head, or director of the mosques, who are emirs or descendants of Mahomet.

reasons of the deposition to the Sultan himself; announcing to him, why by law he is unworthy and incapable of reigning.

Fear obliges the Turks to passive obedience, merely as disunited individuals: then they only talk;—but when once the burthen of ills accumulates and extends, the people find a chief; the law and soldiery join with them as in a common interest, and depose the oppressor; but they always place on the throne his lawful successor.

This single undoubted practice of taking the *lawful Successor* proves they seek the sanction of *law*; and I think it may be laid down as a maxim, that wherever it has not been mere usurped temporary power, the like has been practised in all governments.

C H A P. VIII.

History of the Vizir Ragib Mehemet Basha's government.

THE death of the chief Black gave a sudden change to the interior frame of the Turkish government, and may be considered as a new æra in their constitution. This circumstance, however, is little known, and has escaped most writers; hence the succeeding transactions and the advantages taken from that event by the Vizir, to establish his own absolute power, may be worth relating.

The new *Kislar-Aga*, intimidated by the tragical end of his predecessor, conducted himself with great caution; he seemed to consult frequently with the
Vizir,

Vizir, and enter into cloſer connexions with him: this continued till the year 1754.

It was then, that on the demife of Sultan Machmut, his brother Ofman aſcended the throne. This prince, according to the maxims of Turkiſh policy, had been conſtantly confined; and now came forth into the world at the age of fifty-fix, a perfect ſtranger to mankind. On this event, the Black *Kiſlar-Aga* began to aſſume more power, and with his party, compoſed of ſome without, and ſome within the Seraglio, to make and depoſe Vizirs as he pleaſed. His power within the Seraglio is entirely free from controul, except from his ſecretary the *Yazigi Eſfendi*, who generally gains credit with the Grand Seignor: in theſe two, and a few of their adherents, the whole power of government centered.

Upon

Upon the death of Osman, in the year 1757, the Vizir Ragib Mehemet Bashaw, who had the seals, appeared to be the ablest, and most subtle man of the Turkish empire. His office led him to place Sultan Mustapha on the throne : he had either formed a secret connexion with that prince before, or captivated his affection then, by his obsequiousness, learning, and eloquence ; so that he became at once his friend and confidant, and set the office of Vizir on its ancient footing of prime minister with absolute power.

The Sultan, to attach this minister more effectually to his person, obliged him to repudiate his wife, who was an amiable young lady, and to marry the princess his sister, a widow, whose person, and advanced years, rendered her an object incapable of exciting the softer passions.

Mustapha,

Mustapha, the present Sultan, of whom we are now speaking, is a son of Achmet, who was deposed in 1730. The two brothers Machmut and Osman, who had reigned from that time till the accession of Mustapha, were descendants of Achmet's brother.

Filial duty operates with great force on Mahometans ; they commonly, I might say invariably, make a point of imitating their fathers ; and quote the life and actions of their progenitors, as the only models they ought to follow.

This prince, therefore, looked on every regulation introduced since his father's deposition, or which deviated from the practice of his ancestors, as insufferable innovations ; and the reigns of his two cousins appeared to him full of abuse and irregularity.

The Vizir took care to confirm him in these ideas, and to point out the abuses ; exclaiming against them as
deviations

deviations not only from the practice of his father, but from the ancient Mahometan rule or canon of government. He carried him up to the time of Solyman I. by some called the Magnificent, by others the Law-giver ; and did not fail to represent the power given to the *Kislar-Aga*, a wild, ignorant black slave, as the source of those and all other attendant evils ; that the authority usurped within the Seraglio, and the iniquitous intrigues' always forming there, destroyed the wisest measures of the Porte ; and that the true original establishment of the empire, was the absolute power of the Vizir.

The Black, who succeeded *Bekir-Aga*, still continued in power. On several occasions he had shewn himself no friend to the Vizir, who, nevertheless, had supported himself, during the few months he governed in Sultan Osman's

Osman's reign, by means of the *Jazigi Effendi*; he was, however, continually tottering, and called himself publicly, a stranger who must prepare to remove. Turks never forgive; the Vizir's ability and art were therefore immediately employed to satisfy his revenge, by punishing this enemy. The Black was condemned to exile; and after the fatal disaster of the Mecca caravan, his head was struck off, and brought to Constantinople, as a compensation he owed to the people for being the original cause of that sacrilege.

The power of ministers in Turkey, as in many other countries, is in proportion to the emoluments of their office, and the consequent riches and number of their dependants.

The *Harem*, or ladies of the Seraglio, have a vast revenue assigned them for their support and maintenance: this consists in large districts of lands, and considerable

siderable towns, in Europe and Asia, and is called the *Haremai*. The absolute independent government and direction of these revenues, which equal those of a kingdom, were entirely at the disposal of the Black *Kislar-Aga*. He received the whole, accountable to no one; in all affairs relating to the *Haremai*, he held the Divans, distributed justice, and tried causes criminal and civil; he named the governors, and all the other magistrates, civil, and military; no one dared to contradict him, or interfere with him in the government of those places allotted for the maintenance of the *Harem*.

The difficulty was how to alter this part of the constitution; but Ragib Mehemet Bashaw's resources never failed him: his knowledge of their history, his fertile genius and eloquence, had captivated the Grand Seigneur, who

who was soon persuaded that this power of the Black Eunuch over the *Haremai*, was the source of his crimes ; that government should be more simple ; and that even the business of the *Haremai* should, as a principal and essential part, be annexed to the Vizir's office : in short, the minister got it entirely out of the hands of the Seraglio, and brought it into his own ; substituting a Black of his own choice, whom he rendered subservient to all his views ; so that one might truly say, he remodelled that part of government, and brought the whole empire under his own absolute power.

I could not help often comparing this Vizir's art of governing, with that of Tiberius. In cunning, deceit, and jealousy, he exceeded him ; and where he found a competitor, or one who might endanger his own security, his
cruelty

cruelty perhaps was equal to that of the Roman tyrant.

A *Tefterdar*, or high-treasurer, a man of unbounded generosity, and uncommon sublimity of sentiment, occupied that post for the second time while Ragib was Vizir; and had acquired vast popularity. The Vizir heard him continually praised; this was a sufficient reason to excite his jealousy. He ordered a revision of accounts; found him, as he pretended, deficient; and procured his exile; at the same time complaining of the loss he sustained by the *Tefterdar*'s removal. Nor did the Vizir's hatred stop here; it followed him in his exile, and was not appeased but by his blood: he caused his head to be cut off, protesting all the while against such rigid justice; lamenting his friend's hard fate; and censuring the Grand Seignor's too inflexible

inflexible severity, exercised on so able and worthy a man, for a crime so common, and for which an atonement might be so easily made.

This minister, with all his credit and power, never in the least attempted to contest the Grand Seignor's will. Subservient to it, he advanced to the high and important post of *Mufti*, one *Veli Effendi*, a bold loquacious man, much respected in the law. This *Mufti* was not long in his post, before he was observed to meddle in politics, and was thought to vie in power with the minister.

The Vizir, who had taken an affection to the interpreter of the Porte, resolved to make a change of princes, or *Vaywodes*, in Moldavia and Walachia ; and to confer one of those dignities on the interpreter. The Sultan agreed to it ; the interpreter was nominated to this promotion ; and the

honours to be conferred on him on that occasion were settled: but the *Mufti*, who patronized another, a deposed prince, interposed, and recommended him to the Grand Seigneur as the properest person; extolling his character with uncommon praises.

The Sultan mentioned this recommendation to the Vizir; that minister immediately confirmed it, and submitted to alter his whole plan.

The interpreter was laid aside, and the *Mufti* had the satisfaction to find his recommendation effectual.

The Vizir's usual proverb was, "That you must hunt the hare in a cart:" that is, Do your business covertly, and avoid precipitation. He received the Vaywode as if this promotion had been his own act, and the new prince his creature: all went on, seemingly, in perfect harmony with the *Mufti*, for near three months. At length a rumour

mour was industriously propagated through the town, that the *Mufti* had taken one hundred purfes of money for his recommendation; but if this did not reach the Grand Seignor's ear, it would fail in its intended effect: the point therefore was how to convey it to him.

This prince, as is customary in Turkey, frequently went about incognito, difguifed as a common man; and introduced himfelf into coffee-houfes, to hear what the people faid of himfelf and his minifters.

It was to one of thofe houfes in * *Eiup*, that he more particularly reforted: here the Vizir fet fome of his people, and inftructed them in the language, which, on the Sultan's entrance, they fhould hold in his hearing. One of them began with faying, "they

* A fuburb near his fummer palace.

were blest with the wisest, justest, and best of princes, and wished that his ministers resembled him ; but what could they hope, when the chief of their religion and law was so venal and infamous as to be corrupted by infidels ? that the *Mufti* had received a hundred purses of money to raise a miserable infidel to the dignity of prince of Walachia ; and if such abominations were suffered, and the Grand Seignor should not be informed of them, the empire would soon fall to ruin." The whole company joined in the accusation : the Grand Seignor, alarmed, slipped out, went to the Vizir, and ordered him to depose the *Mufti* immediately.

The Vizir expostulated ; he told the Grand Seignor, that such reports should be received with diffidence ; that people were often misinformed, and always disposed to be censorious and insolent ;

lent; that this report was certainly not to be trusted; that the *Mufti* was too holy, too virtuous a man, to be guilty of fuch wickednefs; and conjured him, at leaft, to fufpend his indignation until he could more truly and precifely verify the fact.

His exhortations and intreaties pacified the fovereign for the prefent, till the fubtle minifter pofted a new group in another Coffee-houfe, to repeat the accusation, with additional aggravations againft the *Mufti*. The former charge was then confirmed beyond a doubt; the prince would no longer fuffer a delay, but ordered the *Mufti* into immediate banifhment, to a moft difagreeable fituation at Synope, on the Black Sea.

The Vizir appeared to all his friends under the utmoft concern at this event. The *Mufti* applied to him with moft fervent intreaties, to have the place of

banishment changed, and that his departure might not be so instantaneous: the minister represented the difficulty of prevailing with an irritated prince, whose passion had been heightened by his strict regard to justice. However, he promised to use all his interest to mitigate the sentence, and that he would, as effectually as possible, implore his sovereign's clemency.

He suffered the *Mufti* to remain a day or two at a country-house on the Bosphorus; and afterwards obtained for him what this disgraced man and his friends so ardently desired, the place of his banishment to be changed from Synope to Brusia.

Thus, after giving him a fatal blow, he yet reserved to himself the merit of having most essentially served him.

C H A P. IX.

*Change of Vizirs.—Order of Business.—
Policy of Turkish Ministers.*

TH E change of Vizirs, and sometimes, though rarely, their execution has given rise to a general prejudice, and been produced as an argument of the instability and disorder of the Turkish government: Sultan Machmut, as I have observed, introduced that change as a maxim of state, and was the first who methodically practised it.

Some of the very lowest class of men, several of whom could not write or read, have occupied that high office; yet the order of government, and the course of business, has not been a moment interrupted. Another maxim,

more certain and salutary, preserves government in its regular course ; for subalterns in office are religiously continued, and generally upon a change in the ministry advanced ; so that those who have been many years trained and practised to business, become the Vizir's amanuenses and instructors. Hence, any new Vizir is soon master of the modes of government ; or if he be not, as to the most difficult and intricate parts, he is so far at least as to keep the empire and the capital in quiet, the men of the law in good humour, and the soldiery in due subordination ; which, perhaps, are the chief and most important ends of his great power. By this procedure of government, no mutation of the higher officers ever affects the whole ; so that when we read of a *Kiabaia* to the Vizir, a *Reis Effendi*, a *Chiaoux Bafchi*, deposed,

posed, the spirit of the office remains, and the business still goes on in its proper course.

The clerks and under-clerks are almost innumerable. Some hundreds of hands are kept constantly at work at the Porte: each of them with the least talents or genius aspires to some of the highest dignities; keeps his eye immediately fixed for years on the office he hopes to fill; and, by an obstinate perseverance, and never moving out of that course, frequently attains his end.

There is no Christian power can vie with the Porte for care and exactness in the several offices: business is done with the greatest accuracy: in any important writing, words are weighed, and that signification constantly taken, which may most conduce to their own advantage.

Papers of the remotest date, if the year of the transaction is but known, may be found at the Porte; every command granted at that time, and every regulation then made, can be immediately produced.

The rule which government follows in the explanation of treaties, or capitulations, or concessions granted to Christian princes, or in many other cases, is *Precedent*; the remoter the example, the more respectable; and most so, what they call the *Ancient Canon*: any political suit in doubt, or depending between themselves and the Christian Powers, may be immediately determined by producing Precedent.

The French ambassadors have often pretended superiority of rank at the Porte: the Turks have as solemnly declared to others the nullity of their pretensions, and that all ambassadors are on the same footing. But as the
public

public audiences are by rotation, some one must begin: hence they take the prime occupant, the first ambassador who was established in their country; and this is the single reason why the French have the priority in point of time at audiences, but they have none of order or pre-eminence.

When they have a mind to expedite business at the Porte, or it is agreeable to them, no people do it with greater celerity; when the contrary, they will as artfully protract or delay: numberless excuses, good and bad, are ready; it may remain suspended for months or years.

The idol the Turks worship is gold; and in all common affairs their ears are opened by that powerful deity. If that be not properly applied, the claim of right, engagements, capitulations, or treaties, have generally no effect; some master-hand must feel the weight
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of this specious argument: but then they are often generous enough to trust to a conditional promise, and content with the fee after the completion of the business.

The policy of every Turkish minister has himself for its first object; they study solely their own security and permanence in office: this is the only system they pay any regard to. It is in vain to talk of the interest of the empire, either present or future; the question to themselves is, Can I be safe? Can I hold power? When therefore matters of high consequence, of peace or war, are propounded to them; if the one or the other does not coincide perfectly with the preservation of their own authority, and especially their personal safety, all the money in the universe will not move them.

Some time after the accession of Sultan Osman to the throne, the Vizir
who

who had been instrumental in his elevation, found that his credit was upon the decline with the prince; that others had the sovereign's confidence, and were plotting and devising a change in the administration.

Educated in the Seraglio, he was no stranger to its intrigues, and assiduously endeavoured to counterwork his enemies; but the mines he had laid were generally sprung against himself; so that he found his ruin inevitable.

The *Reis Effendi* under him was a haughty stern Mussulman; who seemed to abhor the very name of a Christian; so that he could not contain his passion, but was all on fire, if the least misunderstanding arose between the Porte and any of the neighbouring powers.

The Vizir, in full vigour of age, thought he could make a proper use of this zealous secretary of state, whose
fiery

fiery temper, he saw, might readily be prompted to plunge the Porte into a war, and war he ardently wished for: it seemed the most effectual means by which he might preserve himself, increase his power, and, at the head of an army, command even the Grand Seignor, and effectually crush his own enemies.

There had been trivial disputes and bickerings with a neighbouring Christian court, and some serious altercations; but the Sultan's temper, disposition, or political maxims, had induced him rather to overlook than to resent them.

These disputes were known to the Vizir; he soon perceived they would be proper materials to work on the innate hatred the *Reis Effendi* bore to Christians, and that they would afford him an agreeable opportunity to declare his ardent zeal for the honour and glory of

of Mussulmanism and the Sultan. To this man therefore he opened this contentious affair, loading it with every aggravating circumstance; yet, feigning to soften the fury of his passion, though he knew it was rather the most effectual means to excite it. Thus he brought him to become his stalking-horse in the Seraglio; set them all in a rage, not excepting the Sultan himself; and brought them from threats and menaces almost to blows.

The Vizir prepared to put himself at the head of the army, in order to attack that power by whom they were; as the Grand Signor and *Reis Effendi* pretended, so scandalously and ignominiously insulted.

The junto who managed this great affair at the Porte, consisted of five persons: the zealous secretary of state always took the lead; the Vizir, submissive

missive to the will of the sovereign, simply approved; though when commands were made out for the troops to assemble, he expressed himself to his confidants with the greatest satisfaction and joy.

But, at length, one of the junto opened the scene to a foreign minister, to whom the negotiation had been entrusted; told him the easy means by which the Grand Seignor and *Reis Effendi* would be satisfied, the Vizir disappointed, and the empire preserved in peace.

That foreign minister made a proper use of it; stopped for the moment, at the risque of his own life and safety, the precipitancy and fury with which they were carrying on their revenge; and as what they required was more honourable for the other court to grant, than for them to accept, the whole affair

fair was adjusted with almost a single word. The Vizir was soon after deposed and exiled.

Thus ended a violent, precipitate, turbulent negotiation, which lasted a considerable time; entirely set on foot by one man's lust of power, who, to secure that, and his dignity, or to perpetrate his revenge on a few, would have been the cause, perhaps, of the destruction of his country, but certainly of many thousands of his fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects.

This personal policy has frequently manifested itself in lesser matters. Their distant governors often aspire to independency, and obtain it. At Babylon, Achmet enjoyed this usurped plenitude of power for several years; and, what is more extraordinary, his son succeeded him, with undiminished authority, undisturbed by the Vizir,

and died a natural death in his government. Not long after, his son-in-law Solyman Bashaw possessed himself of the same post, and maintained the same independence. They disregarded the Sultan's commands ; and though they always answered in terms of respect and submission, they acted according to their own will. The Vizirs chose rather tamely to submit to this insolent treatment, than by resenting it to excite a rebellion or risk their own security, and therefore contented themselves with mere external professions of obedience.

Another remote governor has supported himself on the same footing for many years ; but as he is worse circumstanced, and not so thoroughly secure, he must therefore seek some underhand protection in the Seraglio, or at the Porte.

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On the death of the Chief Black and his adherents, that protection was lost; he applied at Constantinople to secure in his interest a *Reis Effendi* of sordid venality: for this purpose he furnished a credit for a considerable sum, and, moreover, promised twenty-four of the finest Arabian horses for the Vizir and his minister. The person entrusted sent a man to sound the *Reis Effendi*; for such messages are always grateful. On his return, he reported that he left him hesitating, but disposed to accept: it was then thought proper to tempt him with a part of the bribe. The messenger was again dispatched to him with a large bag, sealed. The *Effendi* took the money, put it into his bosom, mused, rubbed his head, and stroked his beard; but at length, drawing the messenger close to him, told him in a whisper, he was obliged

to him and his principal for intermeddling: he knew that taking the money from them was safe; but from the other, the governor who sought protection, it might be dangerous to himself, for he could not trust him: he then returned the bag, adding, that such a step required much reflection. He never would receive the money; so that the governor was obliged to seek some other protection; and must have found it; for he is still living, and enjoys his usual independency.

C H A P. X.

*Administration of Justice amongst the
Turks.*

THE monarch's great power is not the chief evil in Turkey: his subjects would perhaps bear that without much murmuring, or uneasiness. The radical destruction of all security lies in the iniquitous administration of their laws, which are an impending sword in the hand of corruption, ever ready to cut away their lives and properties.

The overflowings of a tender mind must not lead us to conclude, that the steady conduct of the *Moulab* or judge of Scutari, and his positive refusal to comply with the *Kislar-Aga's* command, arose from his inviolable attachment to

strict justice. On the contrary, from the general and known practice it is rather to be inferred, that this *Moulab* was pre-engaged, and pre-determined, by the potent motive of a bribe ; and that thus situated, he durst not act otherwise, nor even obey the peremptory command of the Black Eunuch.

They tell us of some rare examples in Turkey of uncorrupt judges ; I have heard of one, but none have come to my certain knowledge.

There are in Constantinople several courts of judicature, and the plaintiff may choose in which to prefer his suit. The inferior are, the *Moulab* of Galata, and the *Stambole Fffendi*, or judge of Constantinople ; the higher, the two *Cadi-lesquiers*, or judges of Europe and Asia ; and lastly, the Vizir's divan, which is the supreme court of judicature,

Mahomet has exempted his descendants from the authority of these jurisdictions ; they are numerous throughout the empire, and are always judged by the heads of their tribe : in any cause, therefore, in which an *Emir*, or * *Green-head*, is concerned, their proper court is that of the *Nakib* of Sancta Sophia, or *Eiup* ; though I have observed the Vizir keeps a watchful eye over them, and occasionally controuls their proceedings.

The plaintiff has not only a considerable, but almost a certain advantage over the defendant ; for as he chuses his judge, his first care is to secure him in his interest.

All the judges have a *Najib*, or deputy, who is the real acting person, and generally guides and determines

* The descendants of Mahomet are called Green-heads, from a green turban they wear.

the master: to this man the first application is made, and the bribe is offered: if he finds the sum worth while, and accepts, you are generally secure of gaining your suit.

Sometimes, by bribing higher, the defendant may nonsuit his adversary; or he may at least, by quirk and quibble, be enabled to put off the cause; perhaps to remove it to another court; and thus protracting it, if he is the richest, tire him out, until, at length, the plaintiff is obliged to drop his pretensions, whether just or otherwise, and content himself with a trifling composition.

The means of spinning out a suit, and eluding a decision, are various; a defect in the forms of procedure, absence or death of witnesses, denying the validity of seals, the hand-writing of others, or even their own; or, as all proof is determined by witnesses,
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and that these are found in abundance who will swear any thing for pay, when a cause is desperate, an immediate resource is at hand ; for such witnesses may be brought to any point as will puzzle the clearest cause, and justify the law's delay.

There are different species of witnesses ; some your neighbours and old acquaintance ; others, casual ; and lastly, those who make a professed trade of attending courts of judicature, and live by it. On informing them of the merits of the cause, they first declare that they appear in it merely because they see the hardship and injustice intended against you ; that, as they know you to be an honest man, on whose veracity they can absolutely depend, they will therefore affirm as truth whatever you shall aver to them as such. This profession, which they make with an affected earnestness, is
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the usual Turkish salvo, and seldom fails to quiet all their scruples.

Or should it not have that effect; if the witnesses insist on better information, they are concealed in a private room, where they can hear all that passes in an adjoining apartment. Into this apartment the party with whom you are at variance is decoyed, and there such concessions, by interrogatories, and other artful managements, are drawn from him as may make against himself: these the evidences report on the trial, and declare they have heard. Often indeed, on this occasion, instead of the real party, a friend of your own, who personates him, is introduced into the apartment, where he makes what concessions you please in the hearing of the concealed witnesses, who can neither see nor be seen, and who do not chuse to detect the fraud, but report to the judge what they

they heard, as spoken by the real person. In law-suits, no practice of this kind can startle a Turk ; all he is anxious for, is some pretext, which he thinks may enable him still to pass for an honest man. Thus much for their first species of witness.

The last sort are those who make a professed trade of it, and are always ready at any man's service for a dollar or two. By habit and long practice these need no casuistry, no salvo to their conscience, but swallow their oath, true or false, and will stand or fall by their evidence.

The judges have their deputies, who manage their retainers, and other dependants ; fellows who constantly attend the courts to bring them custom : their business is to foment litigation, or to raise false suits, called *Avanias*, and attack those on any pretence who are rich and can pay. No man is secure from day to day, especially if he be a
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Christian or Jew ; for let the cause on which the process is founded, be ever so improbable, absurd, or false, he must appear and defend it, when, if he has not secured the judge, a cloud of witnesses are brought in, by whose testimony he is assuredly cast.

Many instances daily happen of demands on property, or complaints of injuries committed, which never had, and never could have, the least grounds of existence.

In general, let the cause be right or wrong, Christians or Jews have no chance against Turks but by dint of money ; happy, if that can save them.

Neither Christians nor Jews are admitted as evidence against a Turk ; but Christians or Jews can witness for or against each other.

They have no subpœnas ; the law does not permit a summons, or oblige any person to give in their evidence ;
they

they must do it uncompelled. Turks, unless your dependants, will not appear in favour of a Christian or a Jew: the mere force of money must bring them into court. If they really know the justice of the cause, and had seen the fact, they generally expect the higher bribe; and that in proportion as they think their evidence material. If it be for a Christian against a Turk, it is scarce possible at any rate to engage them.

A Greek built a house, and planted a large garden on a piece of ground which had been possessed by his family near fourscore years: all the *Hoggets*, or deeds of conveyance, were in his hands, passed in due form of law by the original Turkish proprietor from whom the estate had been purchased. He nevertheless found himself suddenly attacked with a law-suit by a grandson of that Turk, who declared that his grandfather had

had

had not sold the ground ; that as his father and he had been long absent on the Grand Seignor's service in the Persian war, they could not have put in their claim before ; but that he had now the witnesses to prove that the Greek's deeds of conveyance were absolutely false, and therefore insisted to be put in possession of his estate.

The only resource the Greek had left was, to remove his suit from an inferiour court, to which he was summoned, to the Vizir's divan ; and this, as he was under foreign protection, he easily obtained. His intention by that step was not to bring it to a hearing ; he knew that the witnesses against him were ready, and that he should inevitably lose his cause ; but the use he made of it, was to bribe some considerable officers of the Porte, to threaten and deter his adversary ; whilst underhand, he employed others to bring him
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to a composition, by which means he stopped all farther proceedings, tho' at no inconsiderable expence.

These cases happen daily to Christians and Jews ; especially such as the Turks suspect, or know, to be opulent ; often amongst the Turks themselves, but with more caution, as they can out-witness each other with greater facility, and, as in contentions of this sort, the weight of metal will generally crush the poorer antagonist. Hence it may appear, how precarious are all purchases of lands or houses, made by Christians or Jews in Turkey ; and yet it is their ruling passion to possess both.

A main defence or proof in any depending cause, is a *Fetvab*, the previous opinion or decision of the *Mufti*. The case is put to him in fictitious names, and concludes with the demand, Whether *Zayd* has, or has not, a right against

Omar ? Under this is written the *Mufti*'s answer, which is simply, *He has*, or, *He has not*.—*He can*, or, *He cannot*. At the bottom of the paper the *Mufti* figns his name, always fubfcribing himfelf, “ The poor fervant of God.”

Now, generally, this “ poor fervant of God” never reads the cafe ; but leaves the whole confideration of it to his *Fetvab Emini*, or deputy, who, is generally well bribed before-hand ; he ftates the cafe in his own manner, and inftructs the *Mufti* how he fhould fubfcribe it. This is fo true, that there frequently appear oppofite *Fetvabs* in the fame caufe ; fo that when a party thinks himfelf fecure in the *Mufti*'s decifion, he finds it of no effect in court, nor liftened to, but often totally rejected.

One principal ufe to be made of them is, that when the judge is well fecured by a bribe, though on the unjuft fide, he will lay a ftrefs on the de-
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cifion

cision of the *Mufti* as perfectly just, and shelter his own iniquity under that sanction; or at the worst, when contradictory *Fetvabs* appear, he may favour the unjust by exhorting the contending parties to an accommodation.

False witnesses should be punished according to the *Koran*; however, that happens but seldom. Now and then a notorious vagrant and offender, detected in his perjury, if it be in a cause against some great man, is led through the streets on an ass, with his face towards the tail, and an inscription declaring him a *Schat*, or false witness. But even this is seldom seen, except it be on the accession of a Sultan. A new reign is generally ushered in by some such examples. The prince declares he will rule according to law, justice, and truth: as a proper warning therefore to the people, the Vizir lays hold of

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half a dozen of these witnesses, and executes that pompous sentence. A punishment so trivial has rather a ridiculous than a serious effect; so that the city of Constantinople swarms with these wretches : but were it even capital, it may be justly thought their numbers would not diminish ; for they are encouraged by the men of the law, as the principal means by which their judges, who are temporary, and almost annually removed, make sudden fortunes, so as to enable them to subsist whilst they are out of office.

To do their courts of law all the justice I can, I shall conclude with two remarkable decisions, one of which fell under my own knowledge ; the other I have been told is well attested.

A ship freighted at Alexandria by Turks, to convey them and their merchandize, consisting in rice and dates,

to Constantinople, met with a violent storm in the passage. The master told those freighters who were on board, that he could not save the ship, nor their lives, but by throwing into the sea all the goods upon deck.

They consented not only for themselves, but for other freighters, who were at Constantinople. When the ship arrived there, those who had been on board joined with the others, to sue the master of the ship, in order to recover the value of the goods he had thrown over-board. The *Moulah* of Galata, before whom he was summoned, had the case fully represented to him; and his deputy, as usual, had the promise of a reward.

When the parties appeared, and the witnesses were examined, the *Moulah* reflected a-while, took down his book, and gravely opening it, told them, "the

book declared, that the master should pay the true value of those very goods ;" that is, what the freighters could prove by witnesses any one would give for them, or what they were really worth on board of the ship, at the very moment the master was constrained to throw them into the sea ; the only means by which he could save the lives of the passengers, amongst whom were the persons who now sued him for it.

The freighters ran out of court to find witnesses ; but the judge, who knew it was no object on which any evidence would, or could dare to appear, without further hesitation gave his written decree in favour of the master.

The second case was before a young *Cadi* at Smyrna. A poor man claimed a house which a rich man had usurped. The former produced his deeds
and

and instruments to prove his right, but the latter had provided a number of witnesses to invalidate them; and to support their evidence the more effectually, he presented the *Cadi* with a bag containing five hundred ducats: the *Cadi* received it. When it came to a hearing, the poor man told his story, produced his writings, but wanted witnesses, that most essential and only valid proof of the merits of his cause.

The other, provided with witnesses, laid his whole stress on them, and on his adversary's defect in law, who could produce none: he urged the *Cadi* therefore to give sentence in his favour.

After the most pressing solicitations, the judge calmly drew out from under his sofa the bag of five hundred ducats, which the rich man had given him as a bribe; saying to him very

gravely, "You have been much mistaken in the suit; for if the poor man could bring no witnesses in confirmation of his right, I myself can produce at least five hundred:" he then threw him the bag with reproach and indignation, and decreed the house to the poor plaintiff.

Such instances may happen once in an age, and deserve to be transmitted to posterity; and, indeed, they are frequently related by the Turks themselves, as most extraordinary and uncommon examples.

C H A P. XI.

Of Ambassadors,—and their Audiences.

THE Turks have properly no idea of the law of nations: they consider themselves as the only nation on earth, and regulate their whole conduct with others on positive compact, spontaneous concessions, or usage and custom.

Foreign ambassadors, therefore, have no other security but written concessions, of which they have copies, or such privileges unwritten, as their predecessors made use of.

No longer than about fifty years ago, a Vizir, *Jin Aly Baskaw*, thought them only civil spies, and was for removing the residence of such troublesome guests to the Prince's-Island, nine miles from Constantinople.

As the trading powers remote from the Turks have no reciprocal advantages to grant them, their ambassadors in Turkey must submit to such terms as the government pleases to allow; and it is more surprising their capitulations or concessions have been so well observed, than if they had been totally neglected.

When there were only four ambassadors and one resident in Turkey, the character was supported with greater dignity, and held in higher esteem by the Turks.

It is true, that their method of living was not the most sociable, but yet it seemed the best calculated to engage respect and esteem. They copied the manners of the great men among the Turks; visiting rarely; but when they did, it was with all the pomp of Eastern ostentation: they dressed for that day in the most sumptuous manner,
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had their servants in rich liveries, and five or seven led horses, were it only to cross a narrow street. They never appeared in the streets on common occasions, nor went over from Pera, where their residence is, to Constantinople, but with all the pomp and shew of representing the person of a great monarch : if to visit Sancta Sophia, or to see a *Beiram*, it was with written commands furnished to them by the Porte, who took care to have them escorted and attended by proper officers: in short, an ambassador was thought by the Lower Turks to be a different being from the others of his nation; he was seldom seen; and when he shewed himself, he appeared with the splendor of the greatest officers in their own court.

Within these thirty years, foreign ministers of the second order are increased,

creased, and with the four ambassadors make up ten.

The eager desire the princes of Christendom have shewn to obtain the Grand Seignor's friendship at any rate, has greatly heightened the enormous vanity of the Porte; and the increased number of ministers has rendered the whole body less respectable in the eyes of the people.

If, perhaps, the same maxims could have subsisted, which had formerly been the rule of conduct amongst the four ambassadors, the same consequences would have yet resulted: but, however necessary it may be, men used to freedom, and to living in their own way, cannot easily submit to such constraint; and, indeed, there are few who can suffice to themselves, or find a sufficient fund of entertainment in their own minds. A tacit compact
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may exist for a few years among four, but it is almost impossible among ten: so that, as difficult as it was formerly to see an ambassador, you now meet them, or ministers of the second rank, whom the people have not learnt to distinguish from them, at every corner of the streets, and in every part of the city. They make no scruple, at present, to visit an Armenian, a Greek, or Jew, to run over to a *Beiram*, or any publick shew: sometimes they meet with an insult, which they conceal; often with a push, which an insolent Turk will cross the way to give them; and is commonly followed with the epithet *Ghiaour*, or infidel, the Turkish epithet of detestation and contempt.

If an accident of the most serious nature were to happen to them in Constantinople, they can expect little or no satisfaction; for the Porte would immediately throw it on their own imprudence,

prudence, and tell them plainly, as they have done on such occasions, that ambassadors should not expose themselves in a crowd, but acquaint the Porte when they have business abroad, and then they would be properly secured from insult.

In this situation, where public ministers are admitted on stipulated conditions and only customary privileges, as easily withdrawn as granted, it behoves them more particularly to live with great circumspection; to support dignity with the Turks, and maintain decency and order in their families.

Wherever this conduct is duly observed and practised, few inconveniences have ever arisen in Turkey. With such a demeanor the ambassador will find a satisfaction in himself, ease and order in his family, no revels amongst his domestics, no riots and no insults; and consequently no complaints made

to himself, or to the Porte, both of which will otherwise too frequently happen. The Turks have a homely proverb, which they have not improperly applied on such occasions: “ the fish
“ stinks first at the head ;” meaning, That if the servant is disorderly, it is because the master is so.

The dignity and importance assumed by ambassadors in their representative character was, for some ages, it should seem, thought too much on a level with personal sovereignty, to admit of a fixed residence, or permanency at any court.

In those times, therefore, ambassadors were sent only on very extraordinary, and temporary occasions ; as, on settling some immediate important point in contest ; on a negotiation of marriage ; or, more generally, on the conclusion of a long and bloody war ; probably, as a public mark of fin-

ceré reconciliation, and as proper notice to the subjects for their future conduct, authenticating the security of their mutual intercourse.

The Turks religiously observe this latter very ancient custom: ambassadors never appear reciprocally but after a war; and wherever the frontier is removed by the events of that war, there the exchange of ambassadors from the two courts is made.

As soon as the ambassador passes on the Turkish frontier, the Grand Seignor is considered as his host, and the officer who receives him, styles him the Grand Seignor's *Musaphir*, his guest; whether it is by ancient custom amongst them, a remnant of the general hospitality of former times, or from the respect in which they hold the office of ambassador; or whether it be only a parade of the Grand Seignor's power and magnificence; whatever

ever be the motive, he is, immediately provided with every necessary for his journey, or a considerable allowance is given him in money, which is continued during his stay at Constantinople.

The ambassador from a commercial power claims the same right, and enjoys it, though in a less degree; his necessities, however, are fully supplied: but as soon as the journey ends, that emolument ceases.

A Vizir *Aga* is sent by the Porte to receive him on the frontier, and to conduct him safe; his route is traced, his resting-days in the several towns are fixed, as also the *Tbaym*, or allowance, he is to have for his subsistence, and the number of horses and carts allotted for his servants and baggage: he is treated with respect and distinction, and as well provided as the road will afford: the several districts of the country

country furnish the expence, and it is passed at the treasury in the article of their contributions.

The countries through which the Christian ministers pass, are generally gainers by it: for if one dollar is necessary to defray their expence, in adding another as a regale to the *Vizir-Aga*, they obtain from him a receipt for four, which they pass to the Grand Signor as really paid.

It is worth remarking with what incredible precaution, politeness, and lenity, the commissary, or *Vizir-Aga*, treats the Turks in the course of this journey; but when he comes among the Bulgarian Christians, if the ambassador does not interfere, he will not restrain himself from using them with the cruelest oppression and indignity.

The flattering prospect with which an ambassador is issued into the Grand Signor's territories, gives him not only
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the hopes of a continuance, but of an agreeable reception and residence near the throne of the prince.

When he arrives, he is welcomed by a message from the Vizir, flattered and caressed by a number of Greeks, Armenians, and Jewish dependants, with a servility the lowest and basest, and most disgusting.

The first opening of his function is to the Vizir : they both seat themselves, the ambassador on a stool, the Vizir on the corner of his sofa ; mutual civilities pass between them, without any variation in language since the empire began. He is told, " that as long as his master observes the laws of friendship with them, the Grand Seignor will correspond." The honours of the *Caftan*, sweetmeats, coffee, sherbet, and perfume, are presented to him; but when he departs they clap their hands, hiss him out of the room, and

two officers who attend him, one on each side, attempt at half-way, to make him turn and salute the Vizir, who never stirs off his corner: he who forgets his character may be surprised into it; but he who does not, keeps on his pace, and drives on his leaders.

On an occasion that offered of adjusting the ceremonial with an ambassador who thought himself offended, this usage was redressed, and it is to be hoped continues no longer.

How greatly soever such indecency may shock the delicacy of a man jealous of his master's dignity, he has a much more humiliating scene to go through, at his audience of the Grand Seigneur.

The time appointed for the ambassador to be over the water * is the morn-

* The ambassador's house is in the suburb of Pera, separated from Constantinople by a small bay or
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ing, at the break of day : on his landing he is received by the *Chiaoux Basbi*, or marshal of the court, in a house destined for that purpose, the stairs of which are no better than a ladder, and the room fit rather for the reception of a Polish Jew than for a man of his dignity.

Often, and indeed generally, the *Chiaoux Basbi* is not there at the ambassador's arrival ; but the common excuse is, that he is detained in the mosque at his prayers.

When the first civilities are over, an insinuation is made to the ambassador, that he must expect the *Chiaoux Basbi* will ride at his right hand. This part of the ceremonial, long contested, but never given up by the Turks, ex-

creek of the Bosphorus ; it is the port for shipping : this he must pass whenever he comes into Constantinople.

cept only when they have been beaten into it, leaves the ambaffador the fole refource of protefting ; all other oppofition is in vain ; he, however, infifts, that a gentleman of his retinue fhall ride at his left. With whatever feeming reluctance they admit this claim, if urged with proper refolution it fucceeds. It has indeed been often productive of ferious conteftation and diforder in the march ; and fometimes almoft of a fufpention of the audience.

After waiting fome time in that miferable chamber at the water-fide, the Vizir's command arrives to let them know, that he is ready to depart from the Porte to the Seraglio. The cavalcade then begins, and marches in ftate to the Vizir's door, where, whether it rains, hails, or fnows, the ambaffador muft remain on horfeback in the ftreet to fee his pomp, and to falute his highnefs and his whole court,

as they pass by. When they are near the gate of the Seraglio, the ambassador's train advances slowly: on his arrival, he finds the Vizir seated in the divan-chamber.

In the middle of this chamber an old square stool is prepared for the ambassador; and he is there fixed, if the stool can support him, at least for two hours, hearing the decision of causes he does not understand. But if it be a pay-day for the Janissaries and Spahis, and this the Turks generally chuse, he is entertained with seeing about two thousand four hundred yellow bags of money told out and distributed; and this lasts at least four hours; so that in a cold day, without a furred coat, his very vitals may freeze; and at any time the spine of his back must suffer cruelly, for he has nothing to lean against to support or ease it.

After this part of the scene is over a new one succeeds: the dinner is served; the ambaffador fits on his stool, the Vizir on his elevated fopha; a round table is brought between them, at each fide of which is placed a handkerchief folded up to wipe the mouth and hands; fifty difhes, fucceeding each other, every half minute, come in like a torrent. A head-fervant ftands near the ambaffador with his arms bare: his office is to tear a fowl in pieces, and to lay the choicelt morfels of it before him, all which he performs with his fingers; he commends without ceafing the excellent dinner, whilft the Vizir preffes his gueft to eat, and, perhaps, enters into familiar converfation with him: and at the laft, to crown the repaft, one draught of fherbet is ferved.

The Grand Seignor all the while peeps through a dark window to fee
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the whole entertainment, and as soon as it is over, retires to his audience-room.

The *Chiaoux Basbi* enters with his *talkish*, or order in writing to the Vizir, to tell him, that the monarch is on his throne : he receives it with the utmost submission, first touches his forehead with it, then kisses it, and having read it, puts it into his breast, and departs.

After his departure, the ambassador is told he must cross the court-yard to go to the audience : he is preceded by the *Chiaoux Basbi* with all his officers and attendants, richly clad.

But he does not immediately enter the audience-room ; he is stopt in the court-yard, where, under a tree, by way of bench, is a single old board, on which, at other times, grooms, ostlers, and scullions lie to sun themselves, though it sometimes serves them for less decent purposes : on this, that

he should not wait too long standing, they desire him to sit, till he is vested with the *Caftan*. They do not examine whether this bench is wet or dry, clean or dirty, nor whether it rains or snows. As soon as the ceremony of vesting is over, two *Capigis Bafhis* seize him by the shoulders, and conduct him in. He finds the monarch at one corner placed on his sofa, higher by much than common, and covered with a canopy; his legs rather pending: at his side lies a rich sword, with some regalia. He eyes the ambassador askew, hears his harangue, which, were it spoken with the eloquence of Cicero, would gain little attention: nor does it import in what language it is pronounced; for the real one is given in to the Vizir before, translated by the Dragoman, or interpreter of the Porte; who, after the ambassador has finished, repeats it extempore, in
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the Turkish language, to the Grand Seignor.

The monarch speaks a few words to the Vizir, who advances towards the middle of the room, and answers the ambaffador in their ufual commonplace language: this the interpreter explains, and thus the audience finishes, and the ambaffador is difmiffed.

After all is over, he expects to be delivered from the tediousness of that day, and without farther obstacle to mount his horse, and be gone: he mounts; it is true; but in the second quadrangle of the Seraglio, he is stopped, and obliged to wait on horseback under a tree, until the Vizir paffes before him on his return home; and then he is fuffered to depart.

Personal vanity, or national pride, has not permitted Christian writers to fet this ceremonial in its true light; nay, fome ambaffadors have been for
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softening and palliating the worst of its indecorum. They have gone so far as even to pretend, that the presents they carry, and which they are obliged to give at every audience, reflect honour on themselves as the givers, but not on the Turks as receivers.

Whoever is acquainted with the Oriental practice, and knows the ostentation, pride, and haughtiness of Turkish government, must know that they look upon, and consider such presents as actual tributes.

There is one of their neighbouring courts who have taken it in a true, and a becoming sense; and stipulated in their treaties, that presents shall be reciprocal, that they shall be exchanged, but not insolently exacted.

We may be surpris'd that other courts have not followed this example; but what appears more surpris'g, is, that very court never took into serious consideration

consideration the nature of the ceremonial, and the indecent usage of their representatives. It is surely strange that the Imperial court should have neglected it at the treaty of Passarowitz, since they thought it expedient at that time to make it an express article, "That their ambassadors should appear at these audiences in what dress they pleased." For, before that time, they were obliged to use the Turkish habit. They most certainly were not informed of all the mortifying particulars I have related, or they chose to pass over with contempt, what might appear to them only the vain ostentation of a Turkish court.

I must, however, observe, that except the mortifications which attend an audience, it may on the whole be said, that if ambassadors are not incumbered with disagreeable business, such as may interfere with the interests
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of Turkish individuals, or of the Porte in general, they may live in Turkey with great dignity, ease, and satisfaction,

C H A P. XII.

Of Negotiations in general.

PROVIDENCE has, for good and wise purposes, implanted in human nature, not only a principle of self-preservation, but almost likewise as generally a favourable opinion of ourselves: both these principles, if rightly directed, tend to a most salutary end, the one to preserve and restrain men from lavishing away a life they did not give themselves; the other, to raise a proper spirit of emulation, that individuals might be excited to become useful to each other, and to the community of which they are members.

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But the misfortune is, that self-love continually misleads and deceives mankind: they are too apt to be prejudiced in their own favour, and think their powers and capacities can carry them through the most arduous and complicated undertakings, of which they have scarce a single idea, before they enter upon them.

Hence I have observed that, with respect to foreign politics, most men are apt to over-rate their abilities; we scarce meet with one that has been abroad, who does not think but he could greatly distinguish himself, were he so happy as to be sent out a minister or negotiator. Their vanity is such, that they imagine they should make as great a figure in negotiation and public business at foreign courts, as in matters of taste, in richness of dress, in splendid equipage, and the gaudy pageantry of feasts and entertainments.

Unfortunately those that have this high idea of their merit are greatly mistaken: miracles are ceased, and neither these nor any other men are blest with divine inspiration, or any extraordinary gift of intuition. But we know for certain, that the mind of man is formed to improve by time, labour, and application, as well as by experience, which contributes to store it with knowledge ; that every profession has its peculiar qualifications, which are necessary to administer it with success, and none more so than that of a foreign negotiator.

A modern philosopher * has told us, "That all knowledge arises from experience ; that, therefore, new experience is the beginning of new knowledge ; and the increase of experience the beginning of the increase of knowledge."

* Hobbes.

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The occurrences of life or business, which we pass through in a long series of years, sufficiently confirm the truth of this observation.

Zamoski the great chancellor of Poland, who had commanded the army of that nation, raised kings to the throne, refused the crown, and distinguished himself by so many illustrious actions, was looked upon by all his contemporaries as the wisest man of the age in which he lived. After he had conducted business of the highest importance, for many years with great reputation, he happened one day to be surprised by some of his friends in his closet, leaning on his elbow, and buried in a profound reverie. Upon their inquiring into the subject of his meditation, he made answer, that he had been endeavouring to recollect the various transactions of his past life, and that he was astonished and con-

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founded by a view of the great number of errors he had committed, and of the dangers to which he had exposed the nation, merely for want of sufficient experience to direct him.

If, therefore, practical knowledge is to be acquired only by experience, the first step any one should take, who is intended for a political employment, should be to endeavour to supply the want of practice. There are two studies which may, in this respect, be of great service to him, I mean the study of books and that of men: though neither the one nor the other can ever fully answer that great end of experience; however, even the imperfect information which both can convey, may be of considerable utility.

All human affairs have a sort of rotation; so that, in a certain period of years, the connexions and interests of princes and similar circumstances

stances in the political world are reproduced : when cases past can be properly adapted to those present, and the consequences resulting from the former pointed out by subsequent facts, they help to surmount many difficulties, and throw a new weight into the scale of conviction.

The chief preparatory studies of the foreign minister should therefore be the interior constitution and exterior interests of his own country, that he may be able to answer any question, and clear up any doubt, concerning them ; for it would argue gross ignorance, if he should not be thoroughly acquainted with what both he and his country are so highly interested in. He should likewise make it his study to attain a thorough knowledge of the general interests of the several princes of Europe ; since the remarkable alteration they underwent in the last century,

by the treaty of Westphalia. But he should endeavour to make a minute and particular inquiry into the real state of those interests during this century ; and, more especially, he should examine how far the political and commercial interests of that court with which he is destined to negotiate, have been, and are connected with those of his own court : whether they have varied ; when, and on what motives and reasons, as well as by what means they may again be united, to common and reciprocal advantage.

Many, I fear, will take it for granted, that the knowledge of books is superfluous, and that the communicating of such intelligence as they pick up at court, will be their chief employment. It must, indeed, be acknowledged that great affairs present themselves only at certain periods ; matters of importance do not every day occur :
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but even this seemingly trivial affair of writing such news as he may be occasionally informed of, becomes, if rightly considered, of much importance; for it will be found that it requires the knowledge of past alliances, connections, and interests of courts, which can be acquired only by reading their history, or such authentic records of past facts as may be entirely depended upon; whence we may combine with their present situation, the probability, truth, or falsehood of the reports we hear, or such as are confidently told us for truth.

We must be upon our guard against credulity and distrust of every relator of political intelligence; for courts have sometimes the skill to impose on the foreign minister, by means of artful intelligencers, so that he may be tempted either to alarm, or lull in profound security his own court, ac-

ording as they happen to have in view the gaining of some present or temporary point. Repeated mistakes of this kind, or sometimes one of importance, by which his court is misled, will cause him to be considered as light and futile, and, of consequence, as a man not fit to be employed in important transactions.

But, however useful or necessary such information from books may be to the statesman, it must be hoarded up like a treasure, and produced only in case of an absolute necessity. Pedantry and an affectation of learning are most likely to be considered by men of good understanding as vain parade and ostentation, and, of consequence, produce contempt; besides, they may even pique and mortify the vanity of an ignorant man, who being sensible of his own defects, will look upon them as insults, and resent them accordingly.

But this is not the only task incumbent upon our negociator; for, with the studies already mentioned, one more important, and perhaps more difficult, is to be blended; I mean that of human nature, which leads to that self-knowledge so often recommended in the celebrated axiom of the ancient philosophers, as including the sum of all science; *Nosce te ipsum*, KNOW THYSELF. So hard is this knowledge to be acquired that it falls to the lot of very few; it is, however, incumbent on those who have the difficult part of the statesman and negotiator to act, upon the great stage of the world, to descend into themselves *in se descendere*, as Persius expresses it; and, laying aside all partiality and fondness for their own persons, which most are too apt to idolize, take as fair a survey as possible of their mental and animal powers; and, in order to discover how far the former are capable of master-

ing and subduing the latter, to weigh the energy and force of their passions, and labour to settle the whole human system in an habitual, or, for a certain time, in a seeming apathy.

It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that the magnitude and extent of the immense book of the world, the labyrinth of human nature, and the perplexing ways of mankind, are beyond the reach of a young man's capacity. Experience alone can lead him to this knowledge, since those who are grown grey in business, and quite hackneyed in the ways of men (as the celebrated Shakespeare expresses it) at the close of a long life, are but ill able to trace the various windings and recesses of the mind, or to unfold the complicated and hidden springs of the human heart.

The most therefore we can do, is to lay down some general rule for our conduct, however imperfect.

Mankind,

Mankind, with respect to their moral and intellectual qualities, may be considered under different views.

The wise man. He that thinks himself wise, that is, the artful cunning man, one of those whose wisdom Lord Bacon distinguishes by the name of *left-handed wisdom*, which may be justly considered as folly.

Wisdom and honesty appear to be convertible terms ; and nothing can be more just than the well-known popular maxim, That *honesty is the best policy*. Wisdom and honesty seem, indeed, to be inseparable ; the wise man will not only see his duty, but his interest, in being honest.

Artifice and cunning imply a deviation from true wisdom ; and it is justly observed by the celebrated Rochefoucault, That they are signs of a mean understanding. Since, therefore, whoever deviates from true wisdom, at

the same time, departs from honesty, it follows that every man is a fool in the same degree he is a knave. Hence the characters of men may be reduced to two species ; namely, the wise and honest ; and the artful and cunning, that is, in other words, the fool and the knave.

There may be in some characters degrees of wisdom, and in others degrees of folly and knavery. But as there can be nothing in the human composition absolutely perfect, degrees must constitute the total of a character. The point is how to trace and discover these characters.

All general principles are vague and uncertain. A connection of business with men is therefore the surest criterion. The sagacity of our young statesman must conspire to help his judgment. Something he must unavoidably venture, in order to acquire experience.

Sagacity and penetration result from the frame and make of the mind ; use will bring them to perfection. Truth has its seat in the mind ; or, perhaps, as an able * negotiator has observed, is in the blood : constant practice, however, will infix the root so deep that it will never be eradicated.

He must therefore immediately make it his study to mingle and incorporate with the very texture of the man, habitual truth, and with it those great and rare virtues, its faithful attendants, patience, modesty, and complaisance.

Clothed with this armour, he will find himself prepared for every event, and able to encounter with success the wise and honest, the violent and self-sufficient, the tricking and artful man ; he will have a thorough conviction, that the influence of these great and

* Temple's Miscell.

amiable qualities in the most important and difficult discussions, will meet with the warm applause and approbation of the first, soften the vehemence and arrogance of the second, and gently and without offence unveil the sinister, deep designs of the third; hence he will command esteem, cement confidence, and found his reputation on a solid basis.

I am aware that such doctrine will be considered as empty speculation, or an Utopian and visionary system: it will be objected, that to mix truth with virtue and politics, is like blending sweet with bitter, and that it is impossible to reduce it to practice. I once met with an eminent divine who appeared to be of that opinion, and who started with surprise, when I advanced these principles. In one sense he might possibly be in the right; in ecclesiastical policy it may be found impracti-

impracticable ; but I am sure in civil it is not.

I will readily grant, that there was a time when political negotiations were made up of fraud, knavery, and chicanery ; and this was perhaps owing to a cause suspected by few, I mean to the influence of ignorance and superstition. This was in the age when the understandings of men were so darkened by both, and their intellectual eyes so hood-winked by the friar's cowl, that truth and honesty were entirely dependant upon the confessor, and mere acts of penance and devotion constituted the whole of religion.

Thus Lewis XIth of France, and his contemporaries, made all politics consist in fraud and deceit ; and prided themselves in possessing those pernicious qualities in perfection. Absolution by penance was the sure means of purification ; the remedy was easy and

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at hand ; so they went on sinning and repenting.

Men are more enlightened in the present age ; the maxims of corrupt policy are now exploded ; common sense has shewn mankind, that integrity of heart must dictate the truest policy ; they act on greater and more generous principles ; and we must be indeed unfortunate if we have men to deal with of a base degenerate turn of mind, who look upon tricking and low cunning as political wisdom.

It may probably be asked, how it is possible for a minister, in a variety of incidents and junctures, always to adhere to truth and retain the reputation of probity ? The rule is simple and easy ; prudence will suggest to him the *dicenda* and *tacenda*, what is proper to be said, and what to be suppressed in silence. Regard to truth does not require that we should say all
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we know, that we should divulge our thoughts, or answer an ill-timed, impertinent question: silence denies no truth; but when we speak it should be the truth to the best of our knowledge; we should have an internal conviction that it is such; we should never advance false facts, nor deny true ones. —Even in case a political question should be asked of a dangerous tendency to the business in hand, and those who propose it should be convinced the negotiator is fully informed of the matter, instead of having recourse to equivocating and evasions, he may tell them in a plain, open, honest way, that the question is ill-timed, that he is not at liberty to enter into an explanation, or give them the satisfaction they require: when it is proper for him to answer, he will behave with his usual candour.

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I have constantly known such conduct successful, and would therefore the more earnestly recommend it: the honest and virtuous will highly approve of it, and artful men will at least counterfeit and affect it; for all, and even the worst of mankind, endeavour to carry a face of honesty, and to set themselves up as models of truth and probity.

Take a view of an opposite conduct, founded upon art and deceit; its basis must be falshood, and a lie lasts but for a day; one untruth draws an infinite series of falshoods after it; if we invent one, we must have recourse to a thousand more to second and support that. In this manner they will soon become habitual to us; and even when we afterwards speak the language of truth, no body will believe us. We shall quickly be detected, and our character unmasked and exposed to the public.

public. All confidence will be withdrawn from us. The world never forgive a deceit ; the self-love and vanity of mankind is too sensibly injured by it. When once the reputation of a negotiator is blasted, he becomes the dread of all men, whether he converses with them or not ; he is hated even by those who are as bad as himself, and becomes an object of scorn and contempt in every court to which his name reaches.

Independent of the beauty of truth, and the antecedent duty which lays a man under a moral obligation to adhere to it, political examples of the success of both sorts of conduct have fallen under my notice, which I may venture to recommend as eternal mementos to all negotiators.

A young minister, who had been for some time under a very able master, was sent upon a conciliating scheme to

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one of the most considerable courts in Europe : the two powers were inveterately prejudiced against each other, in-
 somuch that there was but little or no probability of his success. He had a set of men to deal with, who had the reputation of being the most consummate negotiators of their age : the principal person with whom he was to transact business, was certainly one of the greatest and ablest men that the world ever produced. Our young negotiator, in his interviews with them all, acquitted himself with reputation, but was particularly approved by the premier ; the affair was brought to a treaty, and concluded ; thereby an axe was laid to the root of some of the most important difficulties which had long subsisted with the utmost animosity between the two powers. After all was settled and concluded, and our negotiator was waiting with some impatience

tience to know his future destiny from his own court, he one morning received a note from the person who acted as first minister, to desire a short conference with him : when he waited on him, the great man began by asking what designs he had in view with respect to himself; whether he thought it was the intention of his sovereign to continue him in the post he then occupied, or, as his merit might justly claim such a reward, to place him in a higher character at that or any other court? He answered with great modesty, that he had no will of his own, that he was resigned to obey his royal master in whatever station he should think proper to place him; but that he would, doubtless, look upon it as a high honour to continue at that court.

The other thereupon told him that his reason for asking him so many
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questions was, that as he had been concerned with him in a long series of as difficult and intricate negotiations as had been carried on for many years, and he had not only acquitted himself with great ability, but acted on all occasions with the utmost truth and candour, he wished he might continue at that court as long as he lived ; that this was likewise the desire of his master and all his colleagues ; so that, if it were agreeable to his own inclination, he would undertake to have him appointed to reside with them in a higher character. The great man kept his promise, and our * young ne-

* This excellent person was the late Sir Thomas Robinson, who died Lord Grantham : a man of uncommon penetration, judgment, and knowledge ; the great celebrity of whose public transactions abroad was only honoured at home by a transient remembrance. From the university he set out on foreign affairs, under that great and able statesman Horace, late lord Walpole ; he was several years at

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gotiator resided there many years, in high esteem for his candour and extraordinary political abilities.

Two other characters I knew, which make a striking contrast with that above-mentioned : both had lived long in an oriental climate, and were of consequence used to the eastern manners ; they were men of no extensive

Paris his secretary of the embassy, in which station he went through immense business with great application and uncommon ability. At the important crisis, when cardinal Fleury, after great mutual confidence and trust in our court, grew tired, and projected a defection ; the ambassador, timely informed, resolved to be beforehand with his eminence ; he therefore engaged his own court to permit him to manage a conciliation with the court of Vienna. For this purpose he dispatched, very privately, Mr. Robinson thither, who, with great prudence and honour, accomplished the arduous negotiation of the treaty of 1731, curtailed all disputes, royal and electoral, with that court ; and remained there many years after, in the highest reputation, and often the umpire of foreign affairs between several other courts in Europe.

knowledge, or profound capacity ; but had contracted the habits of the country, and seemed to glory in surpassing the most subtle, cunning, artful Greek or Jew. They did not exert their abilities in their dealings with such people only, but were notorious for extending them to others, and to every course of business they were engaged in.

With their ministerial colleagues they indeed played a higher game ; for, in order to carry on deception more effectually, they assumed the hypocritical mask of religion. One of them boasted that he had so thoroughly studied the Bible, that in case the whole book should happen to be destroyed, or totally lost, he would undertake (as it is said to have happened to the Pentateuch after the captivity) to furnish a complete copy from his memory. The other, insinuating and
crafty,

crafty, was always very kind to his chaplain, took care to counterfeit great zeal for religion, and was generally found reading the Bible, or had it on a table hard by him.

It was, notwithstanding, notorious that both these men were constantly concerned in wrangling and disputes; that they were continually intriguing at the court where they resided, with a view either to oppress or intimidate innocent men, and extort money from them to put an end to their persecution.

In their dealings with other ministers, their conduct consisted almost intirely in deceit and falsehood; and one of them, in affairs of the last importance in which the honour, dignity, and interest of his masters were equally at stake, by a most sinister and infamous imposition, sacrificed them all, and betrayed them to their natural enemy: it was not his intention to act as

he did, but so perverted was his mind by dishonesty, that he could not see that the straight and plain road of integrity would lead him with certainty to his true end. In a word, from their general characters it was well known, that they never examined truth or falsehood, right or wrong, and that they scrupled no means to gain their ends ; they were therefore hated and shunned, and all who had any dealings with them took care to be as much upon their guard as a prudent man would in a crowd, who is afraid of having his pocket picked.

After a residence of many years in the East, they were both recalled ; one by the influence of family interest, to fill a post of importance at one of the most considerable courts in Europe ; but no sooner was his destination known, but that court positively refused receiving him : others were

attempted, but with as little success. At last he was sent to a court where he had nothing to do, and where it was a matter of perfect indifference at that time, whether he was a rogue or an honest man.

The other had the same fate ; his intriguing spirit was dreaded at home, and it was therefore proposed to send him upon two foreign missions ; but his character was so well known at both places, that they refused to receive him : he however contrived to wriggle himself into employments at home, perhaps by the assistance of his quondam chaplains, but died, and left behind him a family to be provided for by the charity of better Christians than himself.

These examples abundantly prove that integrity of heart, and an honest, candid behaviour, lead on to fortune, even at courts ; and that their contra-

ries generally involve men in contempt and misery. In a word, in political transactions, as well as in all other occurrences of life, virtue is generally found to be its own reward.

When a young negotiator arrives at the court where he is to reside, he should endeavour to appear with an open, easy, chearful countenance. An air of reserve and supercilious gravity alarms half mankind, and is apt to create suspicions ; he should be pensive in the closet only. When he is in company let him seem to enjoy it : in order to render himself agreeable he should intirely divest himself of his national prejudices ; he should avoid giving the preference to the manners and customs of his own country, and under-rating or disparaging those of the place he resides at ; on the contrary, he should endeavour to adopt the latter, and conform to them as much as possible.

fible. This conduct he ought to observe, not only in great things, and of real importance, but in such as are seemingly trivial and insignificant; the mere fashion of a coat, the cock of a hat, the turn of a toupee, may flatter national vanity, and conciliate esteem. For there are in all countries ten superficial, light persons for one wise man; and it is not under-rating our own good sense to fall in with such follies as are of no consequence; it is the wisest way to conform to the multitude in indifferent matters, when we are obliged to live with them.

The next and the grand point which a negotiator should have in view, is to come at the knowledge of the true character of the prince at whose court he resides; not from report, for that is often fallacious, but from facts. He should endeavour to find out who possesses his chief confidence, and upon
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on what grounds : in some courts it is a chancellor, in others a secretary of state ; some have councils before which all foreign business is laid, others have principal clerks who transact affairs under the secretaries. Our negotiators should study the true character of each of these counsellors, the extent of their knowledge, the influence which it has in council, the degree of credit each is possessed of with the prince ; but above all, which of these clerks has the chief share in the dispatch of business, and whether they act as creatures of the prince, or of the prime minister.

It often happens in courts, that men, to all appearance obscure, are secretly possessed of the highest degree of credit with the sovereign ; that they are in fact prime ministers, though they have not the title ; or if they do not direct the master immediately, there is, generally

rally speaking, some one of them who directs and determines the prime minister almost in all things; for neither can the prince bear alone the whole burthen of the immense business of an extensive government, nor can any one man bear it for him: the human mind is too limited for this; princes and ministers must trust and confide in others; and as all business is principally transacted in writing, the clerks in public office are, in great measure, the springs that put the whole machine of government in motion, and by whom the first minister is whirled to whatever point they think proper, and that often without being himself sensible of it.

Our negotiator should therefore be careful to cultivate the friendship of all these persons; he should endeavour to form connections with them, and establish a mutual confidence between

tween them and him, by communicating such intelligence as he can, consistently with his duty——previous, secret consultations about business, will greatly contribute to gain him their confidence, and be a probable, if not a certain, means to insure its success.

One of the principal courts of Europe furnishes us with a recent example, how greatly business has been retarded, and foreign ministers injured, by neglecting to observe this rule. The prince, a person of great knowledge and sagacity, had tried the talents of all his noblemen round, examined their virtues and qualifications, and studied their characters: after the death of one truly great man, whom he had intrusted with the administration of his affairs, he seemed to have lost all confidence in the rest of his courtiers; for though he did not love, he greatly esteemed

teemed the deceased, and soon became sensible that he was possessed of many shining qualities, of which those he had left behind him were utterly destitute: he knew he might always depend upon his capacity and penetration, as well as upon his candour and integrity of heart. A learned foreigner had been led to that court by literary pursuits; he happened to be recommended to a person of the first rank as secretary, by which means he got a small place under the government; he afterwards was, in consideration of his great abilities and uncommon application, made secretary of the council. In the course of business he happened to be taken notice of by the prince, and was honoured with his conversation: the monarch soon discovered his great talents for every branch of state-affairs; the ardour of his zeal for his service, and his great integrity of heart, so that
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he immediately bestowed upon him all his favour and confidence. The chancellor retained the dignity and honours annexed to his office; received applications, lived grandly, and treated with foreign ministers as if he still had the power. His answers, however, to those ministers were suggested to him by the other, who prompted him upon every occasion; and the intercourse between them being rare, business was retarded and began to languish. At last, some of the most sagacious foreign ministers discovering the secret, and that it was no disadvantage to forfeit the chancellor's favour, made their immediate application to the other; and those who insinuated themselves best into his intimacy, were most sure of success. This eminent statesman, who was, as it were, forced into the high station of prime minister, continued many years to serve his master,

ter, and attend at conferences, though he passed the greatest part of his time in his study, wrapped up in a venerable night-gown, and seated in an elbow-chair, with pen in hand, composing volumes, and governing the kingdom with the entire confidence of his sovereign.

Upon the demise of that prince, a report was industriously propagated that he had entirely lost his credit at court, and was reduced to the office of a simple scribe: the successor, however, saw reason to support him, and had the good sense to continue him in the administration. The new ministers upon their arrival, indiscreetly giving credit to the public report, seemed rather to despise than to pay their court to him; two of them who were sent with extraordinary commissions, upon affairs of the highest importance, and which required the utmost dispatch, had

had endeavoured, during several weeks to bring their business to an issue, but without success. They grew impatient of this delay, and were upon the point of returning as they came; when another person, excited by the connexions which subsisted between his court and theirs, and the necessity of bringing the affair to a conclusion, made them sensible of the unreasonableness of their prejudices, and not only prevailed upon them to apply to, but to fix the time and the manner in which they were to treat with this very gentleman, who finished their business in as many days, as they had been weeks desponding before.

Many other considerations might be added on foreign negotiation; but these general observations are intended, only as preparatory to the more particular ones on the negotiations in Turkey.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIII.

*Of the manner of conducting negotiations with
the Porte.*

AFTER this general view of the manner of treating with Christian courts, let us turn our thoughts towards one less known, the Ottoman Porte. This the reader has, no doubt, long expected, and not a kind of digression which may appear no way relative to Turkey: be that as it may, the hints which I have thrown out cannot prove entirely useless, as they will at least serve to shew the analogy between Western and Oriental negotiation.

In Christendom we have the satisfaction of knowing the ministers we treat with, of transacting business personally, and between man and man;

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we have an opportunity of acquiring information, and of hearing what can be said with regard to the point in debate; of drawing probable conclusions from our own knowledge of men, and of what passes in conversation, and judging in part of what we have to hope or fear.

In Turkey it is quite the reverse: all foreign ministers transact their business with the Grand Vizir, through the channel of the *Reis Effendi*, or secretary of state; they are, perhaps, admitted to the presence of the former at one or two ceremonial visits, according as occasion offers; and the latter attends at these public functions; but they have not an opportunity of conversing with him. Add to this, that there are several underlings who influence both; they scarce know these by name, and consequently cannot transact business with them in person. Hence they

are under a necessity of trusting other men to transmit their thoughts and sentiments to these unknown ministers; or, which is still worse, are obliged to have recourse to writing, and if the Turkish ministry happen not to like the subject, it will never produce an answer, but will be bandied about and exposed to public view for a trifle. Hence arises a great perplexity to zealous ministers, for if they entrust their secret to interpreters, who with large families live upon a small salary, and are used to Oriental luxury, the temptation of money from others is with difficulty withstood by them; and even exclusive of any considerations of gain, they are often excited by mere vanity to discover the secret they are entrusted with, in order to shew their own importance. If a minister, on the other hand, has recourse to writing, he

is equally in danger of being betrayed the next moment.

It was a common saying with an ambassador at the Porte, that three great evils were incessantly complained of at Constantinople, namely, plague, fire, and rebellion ; but for his part he had experienced a fourth, which was worse than any of them, and that was the dragomans, or interpreters : he had, however, less reason to complain, because those he made use of, were his own countrymen. But it must be acknowledged, that as Oriental education is essential to a dragoman, they with that imbibe all the qualities of the natives themselves, and are scarce distinguishable from them but by name.

At the time that the four ambassadors who reside at Constantinople, saw each other only once or twice a year,

upon solemn occasions, the dragomans were more absolute masters of business and of ambassadors; every report they made them, and every tale they told them, were swallowed with implicit credulity. They could not compare information, they knew not from whence they had it, nor consequently what stress they should lay on it.

The dragomans thereupon finding their great power, and becoming sensible of their own importance, agreed amongst themselves for the news of the day, or made a *Reis Effendi* speak as they thought proper.

I remember to have heard from persons who had the best opportunities of information, that the ambassador abovementioned who made use of a dragoman of his own nation, had an affair of importance depending at the Porte. He constantly pressed this agent to bring him a categorical an-

swer with regard to what he had to expect, on the sentiments of the Turkish ministers. The dragoman, to all appearance, hurried away to the *Reis Effendi* at the critical moment, but constantly returned with some evasive answer: the delay increased the ambassador's impatience; and on repeating orders to his dragoman with some warmth, the latter hastened away, determined, as it were, to compel the *Reis Effendi* to let him know his final determination. The ambassador, immediately after his departure, ordered a faithful servant to follow him at a distance, and observe where he stopped; he never crossed the water, but entered a house by the way, which was a rendezvous for the dragomans, and where they passed the whole day very agreeably at cards and other diversions. Upon his return to the ambassador, he repeated to him many
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compliments from the *Effendi*, whom he had not seen, and told a long story of what the Porte could or could not do in the business, all which concluded nothing, but he hoped the next time to be more satisfactory. The ambassador dissembled, and hoping to have as good success in the negotiation as the dragoman had that day at cards, armed himself with patience to wait his own time.

The fact is, that when the business in agitation is disagreeable to the Porte, the dragomans are very unwilling to be concerned in it; insurmountable fear gets the better of their resolution, and they chuse rather to risk any effects of the ambassador's displeasure, than venture the brutality and indignation of the Turks: in this they are ingenuous, and freely own it.

They know, that if they do not disgust the Turkish ministers, they are

sure of their protection ; and that if another is sent to them, they will not listen to him, nay, will desire the ambassador, or by dint of delay compel him, to employ the very same man he perhaps determined to set aside.

The case has been since somewhat altered by the constant intercourse which ministers have at present with each other ; those who are in alliance often compare notes, and the accounts brought them from the Porte : I am inclined to think, notwithstanding, that they are not yet secure against the same art that was formerly practised. The dragomans previously concert what they have to say, and keep as near as they can to one story. Hence, new ministers (by new ministers I mean such as have resided at Constantinople but three or four years) must implicitly give credit to what those interpreters tell them ; they cannot in so short a
time

time have secured other channels of information.

There are but two methods of using these interpreters : in some affairs, as, for example, those of commerce, the right way is to give them your entire confidence, except where there are demands of money : your intention as to any concession that way is not to be revealed, for you always run a risk of their paying their court to the Turkish ministers at your expence ; and if once they give them hopes of money ever so remote, they will look upon it as their due. With regard to any sums litigated, and to be paid at the Porte to private persons, on any debt or demand, the ministers are sure to come in for a share : promises or concessions for any reward or payment must therefore be made only in the last extremity.

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In political affairs, which are the most difficult of all (for in these the ministers on the other side are always ready to have recourse to bribery and corruption) as little of the business as possible should be entrusted to the dragoman, such a part only on an opening at the Porte, as no ill use can be made of. How much may be safely communicated, must be determined by your own judgment, and by the combination of every circumstance and ill consequence which might result from a discovery, should it come to be known to your enemy. It may be for your advantage to deal at the same time with the dragoman of the Porte, securing him with the promise of a reward for his trouble, and enjoining him such secrecy from your own, as you may think requisite. This is indeed very hazardous, and yet there is I fear no other resource for a new minister.

ster. But he who has resided there many years, has had an opportunity of forming connections, and having been long inured to business, is by experience and observation almost able to walk alone, or at least to manage in critical junctures even without the assistance of his dragoman.

There are, perhaps, in all governments, but more particularly in this, about the person of the prime minister, or great man in power, some creature, minion, favourite, or old friend, or perhaps one of his own slaves, who starts up like a fungus after a shower of rain, and through whose hands the great man's most secret and important concerns are conveyed. It is to him the most agreeable channel, as it is that of confidence; this person, tho' inferior both in knowledge of the world, and understanding, to his master, has such an ascendant over his
mind,

that he can bring him to relish any proposal he thinks proper : the secret is sure to be kept ; it is for his interest it should, nor will his master or himself have it known upon any account that he meddles in state affairs, or that any business is transacted but through the common form.

It is a very difficult matter to come at the knowledge of these retainers to men in power, these temporary statesmen : it is to no purpose to have recourse to the dragomans to make this discovery, for if they know them at the Porte, they reserve them for their own use ; they take care to keep others from that scent, as much as possible, and endeavour to make the most of their interest with this creature of the great man, without suffering any body else to share it. An ambassador at the Porte should therefore make it his particular study to form a close connexion with

with such men, whose interest it is immediately to know where this latent interest lies, who these men are, and the means of acquiring their confidence. The best persons to have recourse to for this purpose, are the agents or residents of the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia at the Porte. These men are in a particular manner interested to know the ebbing and flowing of power; they are the first to make sure of those who are capable of prevailing by their interest to have their prince continued in his government; of counteracting and baffling the intrigues of the deposed princes, and thereby preventing their own ruin. For the government of those two principalities may properly be considered as in the hands of those agents; they engage with the Porte, and with private people, for large sums, which they raise for their prince's use; and it is chiefly by
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their intrigues he is made and deposed. In a word, the reigning prince is but a sort of a phantom of power, it is the others that govern, and in whom the Vizirs and ministers of the Seraglio put their confidence in all pecuniary matters; it is therefore incumbent upon them to know thoroughly and betimes, who to apply to for their own preservation; and in this they are very expert and sagacious.

From these men the *Capi Cheacas*, or agents of the princes of Walachia and Moldavia, and their friends, great and useful lights, as I have already observed, may be obtained in business. They can bring you acquainted with a number of old officers at the Porte, who are their pensioners. Such are often consulted by new Vizirs, and even by those who continue in their office longest, and generally have considerable connexions with those
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men in power, that never change by any rotation. They are of course always of the highest use to foreign ministers, being the properest persons to apply to for advice, and most capable of furthering business when attended with difficulties.

During the reign of sultan Machmut, his Vizirs seldom continued three years in power, and many of these rather acted as his secretaries than as his prime ministers. The whole government of the empire was managed by himself, and the *Kislar Aga*, or chief of the black eunuchs. Negotiations were then so tedious, and encumbered with so many difficulties, that an answer to a common question, which did not require above an hour, could scarce be obtained from the Vizir and the Porte in weeks: hence the Vizir's want of power became obvious, and it was discovered that all business

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was carried on by message, between the Seraglio and the Porte. The Vizir being thus at last become a mere cypher, was, however, jealous of being thought prime minister, and saw with an eye of resentment any one who made application to the Seraglio, except through him. Those who have occasion to solicit men in power will, in affairs of consequence, recur where they are most likely to find speedy and immediate assistance. The government of the Seraglio they considered as permanent; the Vizir's power they looked upon as temporary and precarious. Their first care was to secure protection, and to guard against resentment, before they undertook business of importance. When they were assured that they had nothing to apprehend from the Vizir, they neglected him, and made their application to the Seraglio. There still arose
a new

a new difficulty for a foreign minister. The Vizir and the Porte should naturally be the channels of foreign affairs ; were he to shew the least neglect of them, or seem to doubt of their power, he might find a continual impediment to all business : he is therefore under the dilemma of forfeiting the Vizir's and other ministers' favour, or leaving the most urgent business to time and accident. A dragoman who frequents the Porte, would not so much as dare to shew his face there, were it to be discovered that he had applied to the Seraglio. Upon such occasions recourse must be had to some expedient. A foreign minister should endeavour to find another dragoman, and discover the canals which convey business to the Grand Seigneur, or the *Kiſlar Aga*. He must endeavour to acquire their confidence ; and if they undertake the business, he may excuse himself to the Vizir, by

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declaring that it is their fault, not his, since they should have rejected the proposal, and referred him to the Porte, to which the conduct of all such affairs properly belongs. The dragoman employed at the Seraglio, who never frequents the Porte, and therefore bears the blame, disculpates the other, who will be sure to load him with reproaches, and, perhaps, the ambassador; or will even insist that they had by indirect insinuation from the Seraglio engaged him to apply to them.

I remember business to have been transacted with the utmost celerity and dispatch, at the time it was monopolized by the Seraglio: however, in the end, that, with other acts of despotism, cost all the parties concerned in them, except the Grand Seignor, their lives.

The Turks, in all transactions of business, which concern themselves,
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are violent, impetuous and precipitate ; their first setting out is like a sudden torrent, driving with such rapidity, as to hurry along with it, or break down every obstruction. If they have even the most distant prospect of gain, or if the object they have in view is of such a nature as to endanger their ease or security ever so little, their ardour and vehemence in the pursuit, is incredible : so much is the idea of their own security uppermost in their minds, and so solicitous are they about it, that upon a word's being dropt by a superior, they will require from others not only impracticable absurdities, but even downright impossibilities. I have known them maintain, in the most positive manner, that a messenger could go from London to Peterfbourg, Vienna, and Constantinople in one and twenty days ; and when the distance was fairly explained to them,

they were so blinded by the vehemence of passion, that they would not acknowledge their error; but persisted to affirm, in the most positive manner, and with all the heat of obstinacy, that one of their own Tartars would perform it in that time.

Upon such occasions as this, when the mind is not to be worked upon by facts and conviction, and all expedients prove ineffectual, the foreign minister has no other resource but to arm himself with patience, to endeavour to be as coolly firm as they are hot and passionate, to collect all his fortitude, and determine to bear the very worst effects of rage and disappointment. The Turks are persuaded that all events are in his disposal; but whatever his instructions may be, or however things may fall out, he must by all means avoid the most trifling and remote concession. He will
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be fure to hear many threats and menaces even from his own dragoman, as alfo infinuations of perfonal danger ; let him then confider himfelf as Socrates in Plato, happy in adhering to duty and virtue, and carry with him in his own mind that confcious fatisfaction, that it will not fail to prove its own reward.

Such perplexing and difficult conjunctures occur but feldom, efpecially in political affairs : in commercial, there are means to ftem the torrent of their wrath by the foothing palliative of a golden unction ; this never fails of fuccefs.

Let commercial treaties with them be ever fo clear and explicit, they will ftill wrangle, difpute, and wrefl them to their own meaning, which they will maintain to be a neceffary explanation ; when fuch treaties and capitulations have been at different times

renewed, and subsequent advantages granted, it is then they will cavil, confound, and distinguish; they will never agree that the last more favourable article destroys the preceding, but insist that it is at their option to chuse either; nay, they will comment away with red ink on the side of black, till they reduce facts to a sort of metaphysical jargon.

After a tedious negotiation for several months, you must have recourse to the golden means: the chief man concerned in the negotiation, convinced of the equity of the demand, or the justice of the defence in case of an attack, must have an additional motive to second it with the Vizir. He will content himself with the promise, perplex the cause, do all he can to involve it in darkness and confusion, and set aside the most cogent and conclusive arguments that have
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been alledged to support it: or more probably, in order to shew his parts, he will, after having confuted them in the presence of the chief ministers, supply you with some trifling reasons of his own, which an intelligent mind would be almost ashamed and afraid to urge, but which the other knows, are of weight sufficient to meet with the Vizir's approbation, or even with that of the Seraglio, if the matter has been referred thither, as it generally happens. And, perhaps these reasons, such as they are, have often been alledged during the course of the debate, by those on whose final determination the affair depended, insomuch that the very use made of them by the foreign minister, enables his friend to support and carry his cause.

The capitulations which the commercial powers of Christendom have made with the Porte are mere concessions ;

fions ; there is not, as we have already observed, nay, there cannot be the least reciprocation : the only way to support them is by prudence, and a circumspect behaviour ; and a constant annual expence of presents of various sorts becomes necessary of course. A minister must urge these capitulations as seldom as possible, never commence any litigation on their foundation, except in the last extremity, and suffer an inconsiderable ill to pass unregarded, rather than lay it before the superior tribunal. It is to no purpose to make a bustle and a disturbance, when you have it not in your power to hurt ; and though it may by some be thought adviseable, and may be so in fact in most political, and reciprocal engagements, not to suffer the most inconsiderable part of them to be violated or infringed ; in such cases as these, where there is no prospect of a support,

support, where the Turks know threats and menacing language to be empty wind, and airy bubbles,—where mercantile men may be hurt, and they can hope for no redress; the minister has no weapons to defend him but moderation and prudence; and all his sagacity can suggest to him no wiser conduct, than to chuse the least of two evils.

All negotiations with the Turks must necessarily be carried on in writing. The Vizir never grants an audience, without being previously informed of the general purport of the memorial. This method of treating in writing is dangerous; for, if they send you papers in their own tongue, as I have already observed in a former chapter, they take care to make use of such expressions, as they may afterwards interpret in a sense of their own; synonymous terms abound in their language, and the construction of most
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of them is precarious. A deep knowledge of the roots of the Arabian and Persian tongues, is requisite to render a person perfectly master of theirs ; very few of the interpreters employed in the service of the Christian powers, are sufficiently versed in these languages : in affairs of importance it is therefore found necessary to have the original Turkish paper accompanied with an Italian translation of their own, however barbarous it may be, though they can write that language tolerably well ; the sense will thus be ascertained, and if the minister understands the Italian, which he should by no means be ignorant of, he knows on what ground he stands ; otherwise time may discover some capital errors in the substance of his negotiation. It is surprising to see how expert the Turks are at taking this critical advantage : I have known them dispute whole weeks
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about the wording of political treaties, and a single term has often given rise to the debate.

At the conclusion of their last war, upon their entering into a definitive treaty with one of the belligerent powers, the essential part of an important article turned upon the meaning of a word. No Christian interpreter could be found to cut the gordian knot of this difficulty, or explain the true meaning of the term: hereupon a person deeply versed in the Arabian and Persian languages, whose capacity and ability were well known by the Porte, was consulted; he declared the word to signify the very reverse of what that court intended, and that it defeated the Porte's engagements, whilst it bound the other power: he was amply rewarded by the minister, and had a pension settled upon him. The debate subsisted a long time with the
Turkish

Turkish ministers, but was never the nearer being terminated, they persisted in retaining that doubtful word. At last a conference was desired between the secretary of the embassy, and the *Reis Effendi*, or secretary of state: the faithful occasional interpreter of the former was to attend him, and he was to support the true meaning of the word; the ministers of the Porte knew the man and his acknowledged abilities. The moment he made his appearance, the *Reis Effendi* began with welcoming him, complimented him upon his consummate knowledge of their language, and upon his being able to determine the doubt, in the same breath artfully putting the question, whether such a word had not such a meaning? which was his own: the other answered yes, without hesitation. The Turk then turned with an air of triumph to the secretary, exulting in
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his being in the right: rage and disappointment obliged the latter, after some high words, to withdraw, reproaching the interpreter with treachery, and giving him all the opprobrious language that indignation could suggest; to which the other answered with composure, I would rather bear all you can say or do, than be hung up at the Porte, or at my own door for contradicting the *Reis Effendi*.

The ambassador notwithstanding, by dint of inflexible steadiness, accompanied by threats, which he knew he could make good, brought the pen to bend to his own meaning; a hundred thousand men ready to take the field, blunted the edge of obstinate criticism, and humbled the pride of the Mahometan scholastic, who thought to glory in his artful deceit.

One of the chief occupations of a foreign ambassador from the commer-

cial powers at the Porte, is the external business of the distant factories, to obtain a redress of grievances, to recover money due to them, and to support the capitulations. Memorials are always presented to the Vizir, to obtain these points ; the firman in consequence is granted him for the Bashaw, or the commissioner of the customs, or some other proper officer ; which firman is called a command : but as the command is founded on the memorial presented by the ambassador, he must be exceeding cautious and circumspect in the wording of it, and give his utmost attention to the energy and force of expression, laying the chief stress on what he knows may and can be done to the purpose, with regard to persons, matter, and manner. Sometimes indeed he must consult the capitulations to find out their true sense, and adapt them to the point in dispute,

dispute, or demand to be made ; and often help a scribe at the Porte to find the construction most likely to succeed, or which may be most easily admitted by the secretary of state ; and, if worth while, it is best to support it by a reward.

The ambassador's interpreter, or dragoman, must also have a careful eye over the clerk of the Porte, who makes out the command ; he must watch every word he inserts, and even chuse such words as are the most expressive and energetick, which the ambassador himself did not presume to press with too much earnestness in his memorial. After having taken all these pains, no man is sure that the command will be fully executed ; it is often accompanied with private marks, which signify, " do as you will ; or, let it lie by," or they inform the Bashaw's Capucheaia, or agent at the Porte, that such a command is issued, and may be

be treated as the Bashaw thinks proper. And if it happens to fall into the hands of a Bashaw, who has been himself Vizir, and is consequently experienced in the various turns of government, he seldom pays any regard to the orders of the Porte, but as he himself happens to be disposed ; nor will he assist or execute, without being gained beforehand by the golden motive, which with the Turks is all-prevailing.

An extraordinary case happened of a vice-consul of one of the European nations, who was obliged to quit his habitation and effects, by the tyranny and oppression of an Eastern rebel : this man, originally a camel-driver, kept possession of a considerable government, in spite of the Porte, always professing submission ; but the Porte did not deign to send direct orders not to acknowledge him.

When

When therefore commands for a redress of injuries, in this case, were applied for at the Porte, they were directed to be executed by Bashaws in the neighbourhood of the rebel; these as constantly represented, that as he was possessed of power, they could not pretend to execute the commands without a superior force. At last, upon reiterated solicitations at the Porte, commands and letters from the Vizir were granted to the ambassador, for a neighbouring Bashaw to raise what number of men he should think proper, to call the other Bashaws to his assistance, to take the most effectual measures for subduing that rebel, and see that the vice-consul had ample satisfaction and restitution made him.

The vice-consul, armed with these thunderbolts, thought the moment of redress and assistance was at hand; he therefore with the utmost confidence

presented them to the Bashaw, adding, that a chief in the mountains had, of his own accord, offered to assist him with a force superior to that of the enemy.

The Bashaw, who had been some years Vizir, received the commands and letters with seeming satisfaction, read them with great attention, and reflected profoundly, as if he was considering how to carry them into execution ; but, however, referred them to farther and more mature deliberation.

The vice-consul returning home quite elate with hope, was at last sent for by the Bashaw ; when he came into his presence, the latter told him, that he knew how he detested the villain, and, as he called him, infidel ; that he was ready to execute to the utmost rigour the purport of the command, and that the powers were very full and ample ; but he desired to know who

would give him security, that when he had subdued and destroyed him, the Grand Seignor, or the Porte, would not demand from him (the Bashaw) an enormous sum for the booty he had obtained from this rebel, when perhaps he had not taken a single farthing? “ My good friend, added “ he, till I have that effectual security, I will not stir out of this place, “ nor suffer so much as a single man “ to move.”

In this manner all his efforts became ineffectual, till the usurping governor, of himself, recalled the vice-consul to the place of his residence, and reinstated him in the possession of his effects.

In political affairs every occurrence is attended with difficulty; they will always prefer the side of inaction where they run no risk, to the side of action where they expose themselves

any danger. A case happened in the late war of 1745, which, from the evidence it comes upon, I am persuaded is true. A * Vizir then in office, a man of good understanding, and acknowledged to be the best officer in the empire, was tempted and at last persuaded to accept a very considerable sum of money, to put the Tartars in motion against one of the powers in the alliance. The conditions agreed upon were, that he should grant a command to the Khan of the Tartars for that purpose: he gave the command according to his promise; but before it could be executed, he sent orders that it should be looked upon as matter of mere complaisance, and not obeyed: at the same time he was not under apprehensions, that it might come to the knowledge of the

* Ali Bashaw.

ministers resident at the Porte from those powers against whom it was intended; for he took care to acquaint them underhand, that in case they heard any such report, they had no occasion to be alarmed, since he assured them there was nothing in it, and they might take his word.

Ambassadors and ministers should remember, that they are received only conditionally at the Porte, as guests to the Grand Seignor: it is incessantly repeated to them, that as long as the king their master continues a friend to the Grand Seignor, so long shall the treaties and concessions be observed, and no longer; when they conceive the least suspicion that this friendship is violated, their hospitality to the minister ceases. The law of nations is unknown to the Turks, and consequently disregarded by them; as far therefore as the treaties or capitula-

tions extend in their favour, and custom or prescription has authorised any particular regard to them, they may plead it.

When the Turks have formed a resolution to declare war against any power, they discover their resentment immediately by their treatment of its minister ; they imagine that by insulting his person, they affront the crowned head who has offended them, and consider him as a hostage in their hands, whom they must secure. Their constant practice has been to imprison such in the Seven Towers. Sultan Machmut in the last war is the only instance of a Grand Seigneur, who has deviated from that general practice ; the Russian minister marched with the army, and received the most honourable treatment ; but, as Sultan Machmut was a prince of uncommon humanity, we can conclude nothing from

from his behaviour with regard to the conduct of other emperors. Foreign ministers should therefore expect quite a different treatment upon such occasions, and when they are in their hands, reckon upon suffering all the ill usage that passion and resentment can suggest.

The Turks are exasperated or calm, and their treatment of the minister is more or less severe, according to the behaviour of his court, or as the events of war turn out to their advantage. Their treatment of him is bad at the best, and if the war lasts seven years, he must submit to his fate, and bear the horrors of a rigorous imprisonment. As ministers at every court avail themselves of the favourable moment to raise their master's and their own personal value, such a circumstance as that of a war is what a neutral ambassador should seize. The

method of proceeding among the Turks is always to conclude a peace by means of a mediation; a mediator they must have, and will most probably shew the most favour to that minister, on whom they think they can most depend. If it should be their fate to be unsuccessful, it will not be in their option to chuse; they then will constantly keep their eye on him, whom they know to have the most credit by friendship, alliance, or otherwise with their enemy. A minister so circumstanced may therefore assume something more, and ask favours which he could not flatter himself with hopes of obtaining at another time: at such a juncture the Turks will not fail to cultivate his friendship, and be cautious how they refuse him any thing he applies for.

I have often thought that care in nipping the passions in their bud,
during

during the course of education, might fix mankind in a stoical apathy ; other nations, as well as the Turks, would find it greatly to their advantage to attend to this. Whether it be owing to the neglect of bridling their passions in early life, or from another cause, (I mean the hatred and contempt they bear to all people in the universe who are not of their own persuasion,) whenever the Turks happen to have contests and disputes with any of the neighbouring powers, and treat with their ministers directly ; if the negotiator is not very calm and dispassionate, the vehemence of the Turks hurries them beyond all bounds, impatience and pride gets the better of their understanding, every word is misconstrued, misunderstood, and offensive, exaggerated reports are made to the sovereign, and from words they proceed to some act of violence, and
even

even to blows. Their interviews with foreign ministers on such occasions, have been generally attended with such quarrels and altercations.

The Russians, after the treaty of Pruth, were continually uneasy at the advantages the Turks had obtained over them; certain it is, that from that time the Turks rather despised, than feared them; and whatever turn a modern French author *, who often represents things according to his own partial views and prepossessions, may have given to the affair, the real cause of the war which preceded the treaty of Belgrade in 1739, was that the Russians wanted to retrieve their military reputation, to re-establish the honour of their arms, and impress the Turks with awe and respect. They succeeded in their purpose; for during the whole reign of Sultan Machmut, not only the Russian arms, but their

* History of the negotiation of the treaty of Belgrade.

very name was dreaded by the Turks, and the court of Peterfbourg acted as if it had a right to command : fortrefles were built with impunity on the Ruffian frontiers, and a confiderable one at a fmall diftance from the Turkiſh territory: the Turks who looked upon this proceeding as a violation of the treaty, made very friendly and gentle remonftrances to the Ruffians during that reign. Upon Sultan Ofman's acceffion to the throne, the Vizir endeavoured to keep his place by changing the pacific plan of his predeceffor ; *it is no longer Sultan Machmut's reign*, was then the language. He artfully began with the abovementioned fortrefes, and made preffing application to the Ruffian refident, representing the unfair procedure of his court, and at laſt expoſtulating with him on the footing of the treaty of Paſſarowitz, and the laſt that had been made * with the

* At Belgrade.

emperor :

emperor ; he exclaimed against the building of fortresses as a violation of the treaty subsisting between the two powers : debates thereupon running high between these ministers, short and unsatisfactory answers from the resident caused great uneasiness in the Seraglio and at the Porte. A neutral minister, whose master's interest in Christendom was then closely connected with that of the court of Russia, and who was sensible that it was of the highest importance to their interests to prevent a rupture between the two courts, saw the obvious ill consequences that must arise from personal discussions, and perceived that the uneasiness of the Porte daily increased. He therefore resolved to improve the hints they suggested to him, and to draw the negotiation from the parties immediately concerned into intermediate hands. He privately insinuated his apprehensions, that

that they were precipitating themselves into hostile measures about what perhaps had no real existence; or if it had, was of little or no importance in itself; that should they appear to be the aggressors, they might involve another court, of whose pacific intentions they had daily proofs, in the hard necessity of fulfilling their engagements with that of Russia—that therefore application should be made to the minister of that court, the facts fairly stated to him, his sentiments known, some time allowed to find means of satisfying the delicacy of the Porte, and above all that the Russian resident should be left to his own reflections. Thus the affair remained in suspense for some days, till a new paroxysm of uneasiness seized the Porte: the Turkish ministry then produced a paper, containing a state of the case between the two courts, which they sent to the mi-

nister who had insinuated the means, and another to the minister to whom he intended the application should be made, desiring their opinion with regard to the justice of their cause.

C H A P. XIV.

Miscellaneous observations on the manners of the Turks.

IT may be a question, whether men, before they assembled together into cities, or formed societies within the enclosure of towns, were not more pure and undefiled in their manners, and endowed with greater rectitude of morals. We have reason to think they were, from the history of mankind; and our own observations will generally confirm us in this opinion.

The more mankind are together, the more their wants increase, the more
their

their passions are raised ; and they seek every means to supply the one, and satisfy the other.

Hence, I once concluded, arose the difference between the city and the rustic Turk : the former, artful and designing ; the latter, open and simple, though equally with the other affecting an air of contempt and backwardness in their services towards Christians ; the result, I suppose, of education and religion.

From this appearance I was tempted to enquire as diligently as I could, whether the Turks, living in separate hamlets, unconnected and unmixed with Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, were more virtuous and honest than those in cities and villages, where all these religions are professed, and the different sects herding indiscriminately together, make, as it were, but one people. I put the question to several,
without

without obtaining a satisfactory answer: at length the same *Effendi*, with whom I conversed concerning the *Koran*, who was a native of Bosnia, had lived long in his own country, and who seemed always to think freely in matters of religion, answered me, that they scarce knew in a mere Turkish village, what trick, deceit, or roguery were amongst each other; that having observed and compared the difference between them, and the villages in which Turks and Greeks were mixed, he found, by undoubted observation, that the latter tainted the whole community; that they taught the Turks to deceive, to embroil their own families, seduced them into processes and law-suits, inspired the *Cadi* of the district with the lust of gain, and, that they might have his protection, became his instruments in the iniquitous means of acquiring it.

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He added, that nothing could furnish better examples, or more illustrate the subject, than the manners of the Turcomans, bands of whom are itinerant through Asia, like the ancient patriarchs, and amongst whom fraud and deceit are almost unknown; if yet they happen to mix with the Armenians or Jews in villages or towns, they become as consummately artful as any of them; but then they seldom dare return to their own community.

But how plausible soever this may seem, I should think, on farther reflexion and better acquaintance with Turkish manners, juster causes may be assigned for their depravity; because where men are exposed by a corrupt administration of justice, or otherwise, to oppression, self-defence and necessity will teach them cunning and deceit, without other instructors.

He must indeed be the righteous *Cadi* of Smyrna, who will not solicit bribes, nor foment litigation, and excite law-suits, since by these means he acquires wealth almost without a risk; and he must be a most upright *Bashaw*, who, in traversing a country, will not plunder for himself in every town and village through which he passes, under pretence of taking his due; or who will hinder his retinue and dependants from plundering in like manner. As therefore the people cannot prevent the one or the other by force, they will naturally exert their whole faculties to escape oppression; but lies, hypocrisy, and evasion, are their only instruments of defence. Habituated to this, from one step they easily take the other, and extend it through all their dealings: thus the tyranny and the example of their superiors

periors must be allowed to contribute greatly to the degeneracy of their manners.

The changes of Bashaws from one government to the other, sometimes from the confines of Persia to those of Europe, is one of the great grievances, and, indeed, almost the greatest the subjects suffer under what may properly be called ministry, or government in Turkey. For although a Bashaw on this occasion is limited to an allowance, which the country furnishes from each district, in the same manner, and with the same indemnification, as it defrays the journey of an ambassador; and the orders of the Sultan strictly prohibit any farther exactions; yet if he effectually finds a venal protection at the Porte, or that the interior of the Seraglio has the power, and is sufficiently corrupt to share in his extortions, he gives little

attention to the sovereign's orders, or his stipulated *Thaym* or allowance; but regardless whether they are Turks, Christians, or Jews, who are the prey of his rapacity, he drains the very vitals of the country, from the beginning of his journey to the end, and plunders without remission or remorse.

During the power of Bechir, the Black *Kislar-Aga*, who was executed in sultan Machmut's reign, a period of six years, this evil became enormous; every Bashaw strove to be his creature, and continually gave him, or his dependants, large sums for their support and protection. Commit what outrage he pleased, it was in vain for the inhabitants of those districts through which he passed to exclaim against him, to come in bands with *Arz Mabzars*, or general representations of their grievances to the Grand Seigneur.

If

If they delivered their complaint to the Porte, the Vizir dared not lay it before the Sultan, dreading exile, or worse: if presented to the Sultan in his way to the mosque, it was either received from the complainants by the Black *Kizlar-Aga*, or immediately put into his hands and suppressed. The proceeding of the ministry on these occasions was to tire out the complainants with delays, and then exhort them to return home, and trust to the Vizir for satisfaction and redress.

After the execution of this Black, the Grand Seignor sent out the thunder of his commands, with threats of disgrace and punishment against all Bashaws guilty of rapine, prohibiting it for the future, enjoining them at the same time to give no presents to his ministers; for that, he found, was

the pretence under which their rapine was exercised.

The evil ceased for a time : it never indeed continues in one state, but ebbs and flows, and shifts, according to the variation of power in men about the Sultan, who may sometimes oblige it to intermit, like the paroxysms of a fever; but his politico-medical abilities are not sufficient to put an effectual stop to the return.

Notwithstanding the general abuse of power, the venality, and other defects which may be found in the Turkish government, their interior policy, or provision for the security of individuals, is excellent, and worthy of imitation.

Highway robberies, house-breaking, even pilfering, are almost unknown amongst them ; be it in time of peace or of war, the roads are as secure as
their

their houses ; the whole empire, especially through the high roads, may be always traversed with the utmost safety ; and, considering the continual concourse of passengers, it is wonderful how very few tragical accidents happen ; not one, perhaps, in several years.

This security possibly may be founded on the same principle on which our divisions of hundreds and tythings were first instituted.

For, in like manner, the whole Turkish empire is divided into different districts of country, which are answerable for every robbery or murder committed within its limits ; they are therefore vigilant to prevent either, as they soon feel the weight of a severe and summary justice. For on the least pretence, a great officer of the Porte is immediately dispatched to take their examination ; the districts pay

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the expence of this inquest, whether they exculpate themselves or not ; nor does he depart, until he strips them of almost their last farthing.

The meaner Turks, however, must have some motive superior to that of fear to restrain them ; for the country is so extensive, and the roads are so open, from one extremity of the empire to the other, that they might rob and murder with impunity, and escape to some distant province, notwithstanding every human precaution to prevent it.

I have known a Franc, in his own country dress, who travelled alone round the camp of a Turkish army assembling for the Persian war, and passed thro' it without being asked a question, or receiving the least interruption in his journey.

Whether the Turks look on stealing with disdain, as a baseness unworthy of

of human nature ; or whether they do indeed fear the laws, which, however, are not very severe ; house-breaking, or pilfering, by Turks, scarce ever happens in Constantinople.

In that city the Bulgarians are most to be apprehended ; they are generally the thieves ; yet you may live there with security, and your doors remain almost continually open.

The Greeks seldom rob any thing considerable ; but their fingers are as nimble as their genius is sprightly : they will pilfer. Every little, they say, accumulates until it becomes a heap ; and that little is scarce missed, or, if missed, is not an object worth enquiring after. In general, however, many of the Island-Greeks are sober and honest, except with their tongues ; for they will say and unsay, invent and tergiversate, with a marvellous promptness and fluency.

Birth

Birth does not recommend to great offices in Turkey ; merit and abilities may exalt the cottager to the highest office of the empire.

The Turks do not think that blood can convey either the same faculties of the mind, or the same moral qualities from the ancestor to the successor ; but they believe that virtue, wisdom, courage, riches, in short, every distribution of gifts and talents, and all the different ranks and orders of men, are decreed and allotted by the Supreme Being to the different individuals of society, without any regard to particular families : so that even the descendants of their prophet, who are very numerous, remain generally in the lowest and most abject state, enjoying only some trifling privileges, which can never influence their fortune.

I observed, however, that some families are respected by the people,
merely

merely for the merit of their ancestors. One, indeed, the descendant of Ibrahim Kan, is particularly distinguished by all ranks ; and some pretend, that he is visited twice a year by the Sultan himself.

Ibrahim was Vizir to Mahomet II. That Sultan, when he had subdued Walachia, left Adrianople, and passed over into Asia to chastise several princes who had revolted against him. He was stopped in his return from that expedition by an impostor, who pretended to be Mustapha, the son of Bajazet, lost or killed in the battle against Tamerlane. This impostor was besieging the city of Nicca in Bythinia, where Mahomet attacked and routed him ; but, soon after, was taken ill of a dysentery, and died. His son Amurath was then in Europe warring against the Bulgarians. In this critical situation, the Vizir Ibrahim conveyed

veyed advice to Amurath of his father's death, but concealed it forty one days from the knowledge of the army : public business went on as if he was alive, till Amurath arrived.

For this important service, Ibrahim had the title of *Kan*, almost equivalent to that of king, conferred on him, with many honours and large emoluments ; all which were confirmed to him and his descendants by Solyman Canauni, or the Lawgiver, commonly called the Magnificent. This family bears the name of Ibrahim Kan Oglu : they have built and endowed an incredible number of religious houses, and public *Khans* for the reception of travellers, of which they are perpetual inspectors and directors. They are, in like manner as the Sultan himself, exempt from mixing blood by marriage with any other family, and only have concubines. They can
refuse

refuse to accept any office in the administration ; and I have been told, that they have the only hereditary title in the empire, that of Great Huntsman, or Great Falconer.

Amongst the descendants of Vizirs, the Kiuporli family, of whom there are few remaining ; and in the law, that of Damas-Zade, whose ancestor was the first *Mufti* after the taking of Constantinople ; are both infinitely respected by the people.

In general, I think to have observed, that the people pay regard to the descendants of *Bashaws*, or of considerable *Effendis* : perhaps the attention shewn them, may be in proportion to their wealth and connections, or their public donations.

But what is certain, and seems an essential mark of distinction, is, that any man in the empire who marries a lady descended from a *Bashaw*, or an eminent

eminent person in the law, or, indeed, of any other profession, must content himself without any other wife; nor does he dare have a concubine in the same house. I have seen it carried farther by a Vizir who was thus married; for though he had his concubines out of the house, he was obliged to conceal it very carefully from his lady.

The Turks are strong in their parental affections, and the children reciprocal in their obedience, submission, and filial duty: such education leads them to much seeming modesty with their superiors, and the young men to great veneration towards the old. Perhaps this, with their total, and very early separation from women, has infused that remarkable bashfulness in their behaviour towards them, and occasions that respect with which they treat the sex.

A man,

A man, meeting a woman in the streets, turns his head from her, as if it were forbidden to look on her : they seem to detest an impudent woman, to shun and avoid her.

Any one, therefore, among the Christians, who may have discussions or altercations with Turks, if he has a woman of spirit, or a virago for his wife, sets her to revile and brow-beat them ; and by this means not unfrequently gains his point.

The highest disgrace and shame would attend a Turk who should rashly lift his hand against a woman ; all he can venture to do, is to treat her with harsh and contemptuous words, or to march off.

The sex lay such stress on this privilege, that they are frequently apt to indulge their passion to excess, to be most unreasonable in their claims, and violent and irregular in the pursuit

of them. They will importune, tease, and insult a judge on the bench; or even the Vizir at his divan: the officers of justice do not know how to resent their turbulence: and it is a general observation, that to get rid of them, they often let them gain their cause.

A remarkable scene was acted by the women at the accession of sultan Mustapha.

His Vizir, Ragib Mehemet Bashaw, who, towards the end of the preceding reign, had found himself unsettled in his post, and expected daily by the intrigues of the Seraglio to be deposed, neglected to provide the necessary supply of corn and rice for the yearly consumption of the city, tho' an essential part of his duty. The public granaries were almost empty, and less rice than usual had been imported: however, contrary to his expectation,

pectation, he found himself invested with full power by the new Sultan, and rendered absolute; but then it was too late in the season for him to introduce plenty. Bread mixed up with oats, barley, millet, and sand, was dear and scarce; and rice hardly to be bought at any price.

In this distress, the men bore their want with passive and sullen discontent; but the women, impatient and daring, assembled in a considerable body, and with hammers, chissels, and files, attacked the magazines, where, as they pretended, rice was monopolized in great quantities. No opposition could stop them; and whilst the public officers were perplexed what course to take, they broke open locks, bars, and bolts, burst into the magazines, took with them such quantities as they could carry off, and went away unmolested.

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None

None of these female rioters were ever punished, as far as we knew ; and if you spoke to a grave Turk about them, he would tell you with a sneer, it was only a mutiny of turbulent women.

I have heard it averred by a person of great veracity, who had lived for some years in a Sultan's *Harem* of the blood-royal, that it was impossible for women to behave with more decency and modesty than the Turkish ladies did, and that they treated each other with the greatest politeness.

In families of the higher class, where education is more exalted, where reading their own language, or the Arabian, is carefully cultivated ; precepts of virtue and morality, of gentle demeanor and good breeding, of chastity of manners, with whatever decorates the sex, and renders it amiable, are likely to be inculcated.

But,

But, in general, it is known that the women who are sold or presented to their great men, either for wives or concubines, have their price and value regulated not only according to the beauty or form of the person, but according to those acquired graces, and artificial allurements, which they have industriously been taught: these are always such as may conduce to raise and inflame the passions. Hence they teach them vocal and instrumental music; certain peculiar affectations in their gait; and often such dances as to a modest spectator would appear rather indecent.

Facts, by which we can be thoroughly assured of the female characteristic in Turkey, are difficult to come at; accident may throw them in our way: one fell in mine, which, if it did not seem to suggest too uncharitable and ungenerous a way of think-

ing, might lead us to judge rather unfavourably of the whole sex in that part of the world: *Crimine ab uno disce omnes.*

The *Harems* of great men, that is, all the ladies, and their attendants, are in the summer season frequently permitted to take an airing on foot, either in the fields on the borders of the Bosphorus, or other such public places: these parties generally consist of twenty or thirty, and sometimes of forty or fifty women, according to the opulence of the master; and they are always attended by the guardians of their chastity, the Black Eunuchs.

It is common with the Franks or Christian foreigners to pass over to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus for an evening's recreation. Two of them went thither as usual with ladies, attended by Janizaries and servants. As they were returning slowly, they heard
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a confused noise of female voices behind them. Their curiosity prompted them to see, as well as hear: they turned short, and stopped. They found these voices proceeded from two *Harems*, composed of near forty women: their faithful watchmen the Blacks attended on each side, guarding them, though at some distance. One of the spectators stood longer, and with more earnestness to contemplate their figure and behaviour. He thought they would rather avoid than approach him. He was mistaken: for on a sudden, he found himself seized by a seeming dapper brisk girl, followed by the whole band; who first accosting him with indelicate amorous expletives, and after with soothing and tender expressions, attempted to unravel the mystery of his whole dress.

The force of the conflict, and the army of females about him, left him

but the single resource of laughter and struggling: he could not disengage himself from such numerous, determined assailants by threats nor intreaties; nor vanquish the vehemence of their curiosity, by representing the shame to which they exposed themselves, in consequence of a behaviour so grossly and so publickly indecent.

An old Janissary attending him, stood at some distance, as it were in amaze. His Mahometan bashfulness would not permit him to advance towards women; nor would he have dared to lay his hands on them: all he ventured at in the fray, was to work up a stern countenance towards the Black Eunuchs, and with a Stentorian voice to exclaim against them and their wards, telling them they were the guardians of prostitutes, rather than of modest women; and urging them to exert themselves to free the man

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from

from such importunate violators.——
All in vain.

A young man of the company, a foreigner, either envying the other, or prompted by compassion at seeing his untoward situation, boldly advanced; and as he spoke the Turkish language better than the person engaged, began to expostulate with them, sometimes with a smile, and sometimes with a frown. Whether his countenance, his form, or his greater youth, were more attractive, they at once quitted hold of their first prey, flew on him with eager and inquisitive hands, and whilst he underwent the same treatment, gave the other time to reach his boat. The youth, robust and active, disengaged himself after much struggling, and at length with difficulty saved himself by flight; happy not to have been quite stripped, and to have been able to join the company with decent covering.

I must add, as the general opinion, and what I have always heard, that the Turkish ladies in general are rather immodest and libidinous. This may possibly be applied with some justice to those women who are sold, or presented to the great and the opulent,

Hence a reflection occurred to me, which I have often made to sensible Roman Catholics in their own country, that a convent education for young ladies destined to act a social part, and live amongst mankind, is improper and dangerous.

They are kept up recluse, debarred the converse of men, until they are almost marriageable: if they drop a word concerning them, it is reckoned indecent, and draws on them the frown of their superior; even to think there is a sex different from their own, is almost

almost criminal ; in short, every natural sentiment must be suppressed.

Their teachers do not reflect, that human nature craves after what is forbidden ; that unextinguishable curiosity works up the imagination, and inflames the passions ; and that, therefore, young women just freed from confinement, and entering the world without experience and without knowledge, must fall a prey to the first bold invader of their affections. Such an education frequently occasions either a shipwreck of their virtue, or a disproportioned and unhappy marriage : thus a rigid constraint in their youthful days makes them spend the rest of their lives in misery. Let them converse early with men, and mix betimes with that general society in which they are to pass their lives ; for lessons of modesty must make the stronger impression on them, when they

they see the mischiefs and misfortunes which attend the want of it ; it is adding example to precept.

Whence the idea of the transcendent beauty of Turkish women has arisen, is difficult to say, unless it be from the warm imaginations of inventive travellers, who first raised these beauteous phantoms, sketched their forms, and became enamoured with originals they never saw.

Hence, throughout Christendom, the fair Circassian has been the subject of romance and song ; when, perhaps, there are not two Christians who ever saw one of these Venus's. It is certainly impossible in Turkey : for from infancy to old age, scarce a single trace of a Turkish woman's face is perceptible. No adult maiden is ever visible, nor no married woman, except to their parents, brothers, or husband. As soon as they
put

put on the *Macremma*, or Veil of Modesty, every feature of their face is covered, except a small part of the nose and eyes; and some have carried that custom to such an extreme of delicacy, that when they feed their poultry, if there are cocks amongst their hens, they will not appear before them without it. If Praxiteles or Appelles, with an angelic conception added to their art, had met the two *Harems* on the borders of the Bosphorus, they could not have formed the least idea of the contour, form, or proportion of the face and features of one person among them; all to be distinguished was black or blue eyes, and the tincture of the skin was just faintly discoverable.

However, as they carefully preserve their faces from the harsh influence of the different changes of the air; as their hours are regular, and they are
not

not exposed to a nocturnal atmosphere, or to the mixed warm exhalations of crowded rooms; we might expect, that if the original formation happens to be beautiful, and nature has given them a fair and vivid complexion, those charms would be preserved many years, and only suffer a gradual decay at the approach of old age.

The Greek women are not tied down to the rigorous observance of a Turkish restraint; they visit frequently, and, except in the street, their faces are not muffled up in the *Macremma*. Of these we may speak with certainty; they have, for the most part, good features and pleasing countenances; but in general rather a tanned than a fair complexion.

The one and the other, indeed, become decayed before nature intended it: they destroy the whole texture of the solids by the too frequent use of
hot

hot baths, and they hasten too early to matrimony.

The Turkish women are obliged to bathe by the precepts of their religion ; the Greeks by custom, luxury, and choice.

The number of public baths at Constantinople is prodigious, and that of the private ones incredible. The last, indeed, are the highest indulgence of luxury and vanity ; for all who are any ways in easy circumstances, have convenient baths of their own ; and among the more opulent it is common to have them most magnificent.

The Turks and Jews may, on account of their religion, be held excusable, even in the extravagance of that expence ; but the Greeks and Armenians have only empty vanity to apologize for it : they nevertheless indulge that vanity, although they tremble that a Turk should know they dare imitate

imitate, or vie with them in magnificence.

The public and private baths may differ in their ornaments and dimensions, but do not vary in their models and structure; they seem formed merely for a decent and modest use.

They consist of three rooms: the first is a large hall, where the bathers wait till the bath is ready for them; the second is an apartment in which they dress and undress; and the third is the bathing room. The bath itself is a large stone or marble cistern, of capacity sufficient to receive a man lying in it at his full length: in the public baths they have a number of these cisterns, which are supplied with water by several pipes conducted through the walls. The bath-man, or woman, according to the sex of the bather, attends, washes, rubs, and dries them with surprising dexterity and art, sup-
pling

pling and stretching the joints in such a manner, that imagination would persuade one they dislocate every part of the body ; and yet this operation occasions rather an agreeable sensation.

The women are generally attended by a female slave, or servant of their own : they undress in the room appointed for that purpose, and put on their bathing-cloaths, which are usually of blue and white checked cotton. After they have bathed, they return again into this room ; there is a sofa in it, on which they throw themselves and are dressed, and when sufficiently cool, return into the hall. Those who chuse it have the bath heated on purpose for them ; but two never bathe together in the same cistern ; and different hours of admittance are assigned to the different persons who intend bathing the same day. Indeed, the
heat

heat will not admit of a long stay in the bathing cistern, though most who use them indulge to too great an excess.

It is customary in Turkey to marry young boys of thirteen or fourteen to girls of eleven or twelve, and sometimes even under that age: the practice is common among all sects of religion. They are joined together on the good faith of their parents or relations; for they are never permitted to see each other before the nuptial night. Various tricks, it is said, have been played on these occasions among the Greeks and Armenians: the lame, the deformed, and the blind, were often matched to beauty and vigour. When the parties imposed on complained, the contrivers of their disappointment would answer with a compliment to their beauty and good qualities, and a profession, that their inducement to this fraud

fraud was only a desire to improve the race. This injury is the greater, as Christians cannot easily obtain a divorce: but at present, indeed, the Greek girls become daily wiser, and generally insist on a peep at a window, or in a room; and are not so scrupulously delicate, as not to unveil to their suitor. Nay, they often marry without consulting farther than their own inclination.

The Turks are more conveniently circumstanced with regard to the matrimonial tie. The Grand Seignor is intirely exempt from it; he claims the privilege Mahomet reserved for himself; and to avoid a formal contract of affinity, or, in the Turkish phrase, not to mix blood with any family in his empire, he has no wife, but only concubines. The first of them who brings him a son is called the *Sultana Hafeki*: she is crowned with flowers,

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takes

takes on her the prerogatives of a wife, and governs in the *Harem*.

Other Turks are allowed four wives. They may marry, or as it is called, *Kabbin*; that is, they appear before the tribunal of justice, declare the woman to be their wife, and enter into an obligation, that whenever they shall think proper to dismiss her, they will maintain the children, and give her a certain stipulated sum, which they proportion either to their circumstances, or to the time they judge it may be convenient for them to cohabit with her. It is no stain to a woman's character that she is thus put away, nor much impediment to her finding another husband.

Amongst the middling or common people, the sum is generally very moderate, and runs from * five

* An hundred and twenty aspers is two shillings and six-pence.

thousand

thousand to a hundred thousand aspers.

Hence you find few of this rank who have more than one wife at a time; for they frequently change, dismissing one and taking another, as it is done with little trouble, and at no great expence.

The opulent have often three or four wives, and perhaps many concubines; but if they chuse to abide by the more laudable part of the law, and keep only two wives, it is equally convenient; for they may alternate and change as often as the number will admit.

After divorce they may retake the same woman a second, but not a third time, unless she has been married to another husband. No man can marry a divorced woman sooner than four months and a half after a total separation from the former husband.

The man may oblige the divorced woman to nurse any infant she has borne him till it is two years old.

From hence we may readily account why few common prostitutes are to be found amongst the Turks: their very religion furnishes them, whatever their constitution and temper may be, with a super-abundant variety and satiety of women.

Whether from such a promiscuous use of women, or from whatever other cause it may arise, there is not that number of children in Turkish families which the idea of polygamy naturally suggests: nay, it may be affirmed, that they have not, in general, as many children as are found in common families of Christians or Jews. Giul Achmet, who died Bashaw of the Morea, had the greatest number I have heard of in one Turkish family; viz. nineteen. Among Christians, I
knew

knew one family of twenty-one, and another of twenty-three children, by one mother in each family.

May it not from hence be inferred, that polygamy is deviating from the law of nature? Is it not a strong presumptive argument to prove, that as the numbers of male and female births run almost in equal proportion; so to keep up a constant order of population, one woman only should be allowed to one man.

That this supposed proportion between the number of men and women holds true, may be justly concluded from the obvious consequence of polygamy in Turkey; for to what other cause can it be attributed, that they have not a sufficient supply of women for their men? It is evident, that throughout the vast extent of the Mahometan dominions they have it not, but that women are daily imported

amongst them from other countries : they are a merchandize of an exotic production ; the price of which ebbs and flows, according to the plenty or scarcity of the market.

War supplies this want by the numbers of female captives : the Turks in their excursions are very eager at seizing them ; and women are then plenty and cheap.

But what is strange, in time of peace the mere poverty and misery of their neighbours the Georgians, who are a kind of Christians, oblige that wretched people to furnish spontaneously their choicest maidens to the Mahometan markets, as their country must starve and perish without that species of commerce.

I cannot help observing how the world has been imposed upon and amused with romantic stories of the artful and subtle amorous intrigues
carried

carried on with Turkish ladies. It is as easy to scale heaven, as to come at them: their apartments are fortresses, most of them surrounded with high walls, and they have not a window which opens towards the street; their guardians are ever about them; and the secret can never be withheld from ten, twenty, or double that number of other women. They seldom or ever walk the streets but in infancy or old age; the rich are never seen: and were opportunities to offer, which might render it possible for a Christian to attempt an intrigue with a Turkish woman, he knows, that on detection immediate death is his doom; and that those who have been accessory, whether by encouragement or connivance, must share the same fate.

It is difficult to give a just account of the manner in which Turks, men or women, spend their time when at

home. Some of the former are undoubtedly studious, though most of them seem ever busied about money-affairs and their personal interest. When they are disposed to enjoy some relaxation among themselves, the diversions are story-telling, quaint jokes, chess or draughts; and not unfrequently they amuse themselves with dancers and musicians, who ply in the different parts of the town for employment.

If none of the company is sufficiently facetious to entertain the rest with that low ribaldry in which they chiefly delight, they find some dependant, whether Greek, Armenian, or Jew, who acts the part. These take their place, in the middle of the room, on their knees, and tell their story, or repeat their joke; whilst the grave Turk smokes his pipe on the corner of the sofa, and now and then testifies his
 appro-

approbation with a smile, or a dry laugh.

Gaming they highly detest, and look on a *Coomerbas*, a gamester who plays for money, as worse than a common thief; no being is more odious in their eyes: they, therefore, never touch a chess-table, or a draught-board, but for mere amusement.

Their dancers they have from amongst the Greeks; and what appears most unaccountable, unless we suppose it arises from the absolute contempt in which they hold that people, is, that the Turks, born in the same climate, and mixed some centuries with them, have not yet adopted their mirth and jollity; and that they can hear and see them continually dancing and singing, without stirring a leg themselves, or joining in a chorus. Such of them as use the sea, are of necessity mixed among some hundreds of
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of Greek mariners, who when they are on shore, or, indeed, on board their ship, are never without musick and dancing; yet a Turk is never found revelling with them.

Nay, the men of high, or even middling rank among them, seem to look on dancing, in respect of themselves, as unbecoming the dignity of man; befitting only the meanest and most abandoned of their species: they think with the ancient Romans—*Nemo fere saltat sobrius nisi forte insanit*: “No one dances, unless he is drunk or mad.” They therefore never fall into that excess, except when they are quite mad, or almost dead drunk; indeed they are never so by halves; and then they seldom fail to call in, at least, the public dancers, whose obscene gestures prohibit the glance of a chaste eye.

Their

Their own vocal and instrumental music they have in esteem. The vocal has a sharp, shrill tone, as it were through the nose of the singer ; the voice is nevertheless pleasing ; and with all the discordancy of instruments, there is yet something great and martial in the combined sounds of the whole.

However, no Turk of any fashion will deign to touch an * instrument ; they hire minstrels, or have women, or slaves, bred up for that purpose. But what is remarkable, neither Italian nor French music, vocal or instrumental, makes the least impression on them ; their organs, or their conceptions, are not accommodated to such

* A well known Greek Vaivode, or prince, of Moldavia, obtained that dignity by playing on the guitar to one Ephraim, or Ibrahim Effendi, a favourite of the Grand Seignor's.

sounds ; it seems to affect them like hearing an unknown language.

The women's great accomplishments are singing and dancing ; the men look on them as congenial to the sex ; but they are practised in private only, amongst themselves, simply as domestic amusements, or to pass an idle hour. In many *Harems*, indeed, I have heard that they embroider and spin.

The Grand Seignor often diverts his ladies with a variety of recreations. In the month of May they have the great Tulip-feast, which requires vast preparations. There are in the gardens of the Seraglio large parterres of variegated tulips, which, on those days, are interspersed with all kinds of singing birds ; shops are erected round them, and furnished by the Grand Seignor with all sorts of trinkets, toys, and rich stuffs : some of the most facetious females of his court are
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the shop-women ; he buys from all, and regales all his ladies : at night the whole machinery is decorated with lamps, and makes a pleasing prospect even at a distance.

Great men indulge their women with the like amusements, and on these occasions of festivity some call in neighbouring *Harems* ; so that, perhaps, the women pass their time more happily and agreeably than we imagine ; at least they enjoy more health and vigour than if they had operas, plays, Ranelagh, Vauxhall, balls and routs, continually harassing their constitutions, and abridging a short existence in a vortex of capricious and turbulent diversions.

Wine is severely prohibited by their religion. Mahomet knew his sectaries too well to entrust them with the use of it ; for they are strangers to moderation in their passions : wine seems

to have a different effect on their constitution, from what it has on the rest of mankind; it drives them generally to fury, frenzy, and distraction. But notwithstanding the prohibition, the vice of drinking gains ground with the Turks, and imperceptibly creeps from the lower to the higher stations: perhaps, in this instance, as in many others, restraint may quicken appetite, and enflame desire.

Men of some distinction, even those in great offices, frequently make what they call parties of pleasure, merely to get dead drunk; and after lying two or three days wallowing in their liquor, return fresh and happy to their office.

A frequent request to such Christians as they know they can trust, is to procure them the best wine. Some principal officers, both in the Seraglio and the Porte, have so strong a passion for it, that they have invented small leathern

leathern boxes, in which they convey it home without the privity of their trustiest servants : and I have known others fill large leathern pipes which were pliant round their bodies, to carry wine surreptitiously into the Seraglio, at the risque, perhaps, of their lives.

When it happens that towards the decline of life, religious scruples have seized them, or that those in high office have apprehended the Grand Seigneur might discover them by the odour of their morning's draught ; they frequently change their wine to opium, which is equally intoxicating, and perhaps attended with worse consequences, both to the corporeal and mental faculties. Some still continue that practice ; but at present those among the great, who feel the scruple or fear the discovery, rather betake themselves to distilled strong waters, with which
they

they are abundantly supplied from Zant and Corfu. The casuistry with which they silence their scruples is, that fire, which purifies all things, has, in distillation, destroyed and dissipated the impure parts of the wine ; and that brandy is no where nominally interdicted by Mahomet. Thus they think they can distinguish away the precepts of the *Koran*, cheat the devil, their prophet, and the Sultan.

The vice of drinking wine is, however, looked upon with detestation by the generality of Turks ; and even the use of opium held in great contempt as a vicious practice. When they would depreciate the character of any considerable man who is known to chew it, they call him a *Tiriachi*, that is, an opium-eater ; by which they mean, a person of an extravagant and irregular turn of mind.

To give a distinct detail of the several military establishments in Turkey, is not in the power of any mortal ; I doubt whether any one man in their empire ever attempted it.

At Constantinople there are an hundred and sixty-one *Oddas*, or chambers, for Janissaries, distinguished by their numerical order, like our regiments, said to contain from eight hundred to a thousand each ; but these different chambers are never fully occupied by that number. Most of those whose names are enregistered as belonging to them, are dispersed throughout the empire, live as burghers mixed with the people, and follow different trades and professions.

The policy of Sultan Machmut, whose principal study and supreme object was his own security, has imper-

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ceptibly

ceptibly reduced that formidable body of militia, at least those residing at Constantinople, to a state of quiet dependance and submission.

All these *Oddas*, or chambers, originally intended for no more than forty thousand, and since that time augmented, * are said to have at present a hundred and sixty thousand men, or more, belonging to them ; but this must be greatly exaggerated, and there are never within the walls of Constantinople above eight or ten thousand. These serve for a guard to the city, are formed to discipline, accustomed to chastisement, bending to the stick, strangers to the ancient spirit of that soldiery, and permitted no other weapon than a large taper club. If

* See a farther account of the Janissaries and the military establishment of Turkey, in the preface.

any of them should be guilty of insolence, or attempt to be refractory, he is immediately dispatched either to a frontier garrison or to the other world.

The pay is small; so that many who call themselves of those chambers, almost disdain it: they receive the pay indeed, merely to be considered of that corps, and to enjoy its immunities, protection, and support.

The duties, or customs, are, properly speaking, farmed at Constantinople, and throughout the empire. The subjects of those Christian powers who are under capitulations, that is, who have treaties with the Grand Seigneur, pay very low duties for goods imported from Christendom; but the Turkish subjects sufficiently compensate that difference: the officers of the customs charge them at pleasure, according to their will and ca-

price, eight, or ten, and more in the hundred for whatever they import.

Sultan Machmut, among other immunities, granted the Janissaries an exemption from these duties of importation. This has induced a surprising number of them to engage in the most lucrative branches of their coasting-trade; extending it even to Cairo, Syria, &c. and has effectually turned their martial into a commercial spirit. Thus by promoting industry, he introduced riches and luxury amongst them; so that many of those veterans, who formerly rejoiced in the confusion of rebellions and revolutions, are at present anxious for the tranquillity of government, on account of their own security and ease.

It does not follow, however, but that the provincial Janissaries, and other orders of soldiery on the frontier, would, at this day, appear as formidable

dable in the field as they have ever been; at least there is reason to apprehend it from their behaviour the last war.

The Turkish cavalry consists in a regular body of about thirteen thousand Spahis : these are divided under six standards.

The pay of these two corps of infantry and cavalry, as it is distributed every six months at Constantinople, amounts to two thousand four hundred purses, of five hundred dollars each.

Besides these, there are the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, who hold feudal tenures, and are obliged, according to the value of the fief, to appear in the field, each with three or four horsemen, or more, well mounted and accoutred. These are good troops, and exceeding numerous.

We might add many other bodies of militia. There are the *Gebegys*, who

have the care of the powder, ball, and all the ammunition for war: when they are complete, they should amount to four thousand men.

The *Tobegys* are the cannoneers, and have nothing else under their care but the casting of cannon, mortars, &c. and charging and levelling them: they form a body of two thousand men.

The bombardeers are also a separate corps, entirely employed in the practice of throwing bombs.

This sketch of the military force of the Ottoman empire must suffice for the present; a complete discussion of this subject would fill almost a volume. I just mention these different corps, to give some idea of the Turkish power, and shew, that in the military department, as in every other branch of government, the Turks observe established regulations.

The

The police of that great city of Constantinople is admirable. The Janissaries, I have observed, are the city-guard: with single clubs they keep all the inhabitants in subjection; no riots, no mobs, no disorders are known in the streets; at the least noise the delinquents are secured, confined, and punished.

In Sultan Machmut's reign, about thirteen Asiatic Turks, prompted by enthusiasm, or inspired with the fumes of opium, ran in a body through Constantinople, exciting the people with most vociferous exclamation, and unceasing uproar, to instant rebellion, and exhorting them to raise their standard at the Hypodrome. They struck an universal terror through the inhabitants, the shops were all shut at once, and the outcry of a rebellion spread itself over the city. But these desperate rebels found none hardy enough, or

sufficiently prepared, to join them. Their celerity was so great, that the Janissaries could not reach them. They penetrated without meeting with any opposition into the *Bezeftyn*, or great Exchange. Most of the shopkeepers there being Greeks; their ancient spirit arose, or rather, their own security obliged them to attack the rebels. Armed only with the poles which supported the shutters of their shops, they knocked down the Asiatic Mussulmans, who were all seized; whilst the brave Greeks, terrified at their victory, quitted their shops to seek an asylum, and to secure themselves against the rigour of the law, for having murdered, as they imagined, the true believers.

The Sultan's equity, however, soon dissipated their fears, and put a stop to any proceedings against them. He published, under the sanction of the
Musti,

Mufti, not only a free pardon to the Greeks, but full permission to his subjects of any religion to destroy all disturbers of the public peace; he might have added, and of his own security.

False weights are what the civil policy prosecutes and punishes with the utmost rigour. The Vizir himself in person often visits the shops: the *Stambole Effendi*, or judge of Constantinople, watches them assiduouſly. The bakers* are the most frequent victims to the severity of their justice. If in any shop they find bread short of weight, they mulct and bastinado for the first offence; but the consequence of a second or third after a summary process, is a staple driven into the middle of his door-case, on which the offender is

* They are mostly Armenians who exercise this trade.

hanged;

hanged; and it is not uncommon, as you pass the streets, to rub against a Baker's body pendent for three days successively: it is, however, inconceivable, that almost weekly examples cannot deter them from fraud.

C H A P. XV.

Observations on the Greeks.

THE modern Greeks bear a strong resemblance to the ancient. Too crafty and subtle, too intriguing, vain, and vindictive, either to support and maintain the interest, reputation, and glory of a republic; or to submit to government under a monarch of their own; their busy spirit seems exactly formed and adjusted to live nowhere tranquil but under a foreign yoke; where
the

the heavy hand of power can depress the soaring ambition of their genius, and curb the violence of their passions ; where severity can awe them to obedience, and if not to the virtues of society, at least to social peace and tranquillity.

The Turks have suffered them to retain some marks of honour, some traces of a former splendor ; but these are entirely confined to the hierarchy of their church, and to three employments of profit and dignity in civil government.

The former consists in their four patriarchs, and, perhaps, one hundred and twenty other metropolitan bishops ; the latter in the two vayvodlicks, or principalities, of Walachia and Moldavia ; and the important office of *Dragoman*, or interpreter of the Porte, who is always a Greek,

Greek, and through whose hands all foreign transactions must pass.

The Turks zealously support the Greeks in these remains of honour: they are a never-failing source of wealth to the men in power; a sure profit, - of which they can avail themselves without danger.

Whoever could live among the Greeks, and observe their refined intrigues, their eternal and continued contests for these ecclesiastical and civil dignities, would see a true portrait in miniature of the worst Peloponnesian republics, and a most striking resemblance of their abominable practices under their own emperors, from Constantine to the last of the Palæologus's.

A Patriarch of Constantinople must spend among the Turks ninety or a hundred thousand dollars, to obtain
that

that dignity. He seldom holds it above three years: and, during that time, he is continually studying to secure himself on his * throne. Several powerful Turks, his protectors, require continual fees; he must devour the church to feed them; and in his precarious situation secure a considerable sum to protect or reinstate himself, after he is deposed and exiled.

If he acquires this supreme ecclesiastical dignity by favour of the Seraglio, the moment after his exaltation, his disappointed adversaries and competitors begin to undermine him, and contrive his ruin. Indifferent whether with truth or falsehood, they traduce and blacken him to the Vizir; strengthening and supporting their truth or calumny with a powerful present.

* The Greeks call it the Patriarchal Throne; and they address him by the title *Agiotate*, or, *Most Holy*.

If the Porte patronizes him, and he has obtained the Vizir's protection, they apply to the Seraglio, and attack him there with the same arms.

Or if they have only the same canal through which the patriarch obtained his advancement, from that moment they are daily suggesting new causes for his deposition.

Different factions, which continually exist among the Greeks, unite together to effect his ruin, and contribute to support the expence of these intrigues ; and often personal hatred or family enmity, but most commonly interested views cement the union.

The Metropolitans, who generally reside at Constantinople, exert all their art to circumvent each other ; they make use of every moment, and employ every means, to depose a patriarch, or to get themselves promoted to a better bishoprick ; and care not
whom

whom they distress or ruin, provided they succeed.

Hence there are continually some of them in exile. Sometimes the man whose money has had sufficient influence with some powerful Turk to procure his enemy's proscription, is himself in the same case the next day ; for another Turk of superior weight, and actuated by the same motive, procures the banished man the easy means of retaliation : in short, these ecclesiastics are the object of a most lucrative game in the hands of the Turks, which the latter take care to play so artfully that it is never discontinued.

A Metropolitan had fixed his eye on an archbishoprick, which he was determined to have at any price. During the life of the archbishop, all his attempts were in vain ; though, in good truth, the archbishop's character was such, as might furnish abundant

dant reasons even for a Turk to depose him.

At length the archbishop had a paralytic stroke; dropt down suddenly, and was thought dead. Preparations were made for his funeral. The grand ceremony is to seat the dead prelate in his throne, dressed in his pontifical robes; while he thus sits in state, two chaplains attend at the door of the room, where all of the Greek religion are admitted to pay their last duty to him, and to kiss his hand: they think it a meritorious act, a kind of religious duty.

The time allotted for this ceremony was elapsed, the moment approached for his interment, the coffin lay at the side of his throne, with all the requisites for finally closing it up, when some of the principal men amongst the Greeks who could not attend before,
earnestly

earnestly pressed his two chaplains for admittance into the room, but were told it was then too late. They persisted, however, in their request; and though the usual hour was past, such was the importance of these pious visitors, the chaplains dared not refuse. One of them advanced before the company; and as he approached, the archbishop opened his eyes, cried out for a glass of water, and asked, what meant that dismal apparatus of the coffin? Surprise and astonishment seized priest and people; they ran out of the room in amaze: the other chaplain, after some hesitation, boldly adventured, cross in hand, to approach the archbishop, administered to his wants, and satisfied his enquiry.

During the interval in which the report of the archbishop's death prevailed, the Metropolitan applied to the slave of the *Kislar-Aga*, and offered to

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pay

pay him down immediately six thousand zequins for the archbishoprick. All was agreed on, the money was paid, and the command from the Porte, which is their Conge d' Elire, was to be immediately made out. A few minutes after, news being brought to the Metropolitan that the archbishop was recovered, and alive, he went in haste to the slave, and begged for his money again. But the slave told him, with a grave and composed mien, it was the same thing whether he paid it then, or some time after, for the archbishop could not live long; counselled him to remain quiet; and promised, that although he would in the mean time keep the money, the Metropolitan might look upon himself as heir-apparent to the archbishoprick. The Black, his slave, and dependants, fell a sacrifice to the public two months after the archbishop's resurrection; and
the

the latter lived two years longer, to laugh at the folly of his would-be-successor, who, in fact, never succeeded.

But the arts, practices, and intrigues among the clergy are trifling, when compared with the extent and profundity, the labour, toil, and perseverance of those carried on among the pretenders to the Vayvodlicks of Walachia and Moldavia; they ransack heaven and earth for means to destroy each other.

There are always, when two are in power, two or three of the deposed who are endeavouring to be re-instated: these spare no cost; they have the purses ready of many expectants, as well as of their own dependants, who have shared the plunder of those countries with them before; or if that be not sufficient, they promise the sum required, which they may securely do;

for when once they are named, they find money at twenty-four for the hundred interest, although it often happens that the principal is never repaid.

It has been known that they have disbursed, at the moment of taking possession, from * fifteen hundred to two thousand purses of money to the Porte.

The intrigues they carry on have been so deep and dangerous, that they have cost many, even opulent, Greeks their lives, which they have miserably finished in a halter at their own doors. A Frank residing at Constantinople, who acted as a dependant on a deposed Vaywode, and thought himself sufficiently protected, ventured to send a scheme to his correspondent in Moldavia for excit-

* Ninety-three to an hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

ing that people to rebel against the Vaywode in possession, accompanying it with severe reflections against the Turkish government ; he sent it by what he esteemed the surest conveyance. His letter, notwithstanding his precaution, was intercepted, and he lost his head near the Seraglio: no solicitations could save him.

The revenues of these principalities are racked to an inconceivable height. The princes justify that oppression by the constant demand from the Porte: their purses must be ever open, or they are instantly deposed. Those of Walachia are said to amount to three thousand purses the year, but most people think it nearer four. Moldavia is said to produce seventeen hundred purses; but is estimated nearer two thousand five hundred.

The contrast observable between the behaviour of these mock princes in

power, and out of it, shews the degeneracy of the Greek character in a most glaring light. Ostentatious pride, empty vanity, contemptuous insolence, acts of tyranny and oppression, attend their prosperity: Deposed, you see them dejected, pliant, base, groveling, even to most abject servility. I have known them carried before the Stamboule Effendi, or judge of Constantinople, for debt, and deny their own handwriting.

They are seldom deposed without imprisonment, or exile, and being stripped of a large sum; but when they throw forth more of their ill-gotten wealth into Turkish bosoms, they appear again at large; and often remount the throne.

Whatever arts and sciences, whatever virtues might have been found in antient times among the Greek republicans, seem to have been obscured,

or totally lost, under their emperors. The present Greeks have not a trace of them remaining. Their ancient language, or the literal Greek, as they call it, is a dead language : those who do understand it, have learned it at school.

The art of healing, so necessary to the human species, so much cultivated, and so highly honoured in ancient Greece, seems to be no farther considered among the present race, than as one of the fairest means of introducing themselves to the favour of Turks in power, and a species of traffic, by which they may with most probability expect to advance their fortune : the best of them are are strangers, I fear, as much to the integrity as to the abilities of their great countryman Hippocrates.

Among the many pretenders to physic at Constantinople, are some few of

the Greeks who have studied at Padua with tolerable success ; but the greater number are absolutely ignorant of the first principles of the art: they have most of them taken no other degree than what is conferred on them by the mere fiat of the Echim Pashi, or chief physician to the Grand Seignor. This they obtain for a small fee: it authorizes them to open a shop; and thus qualified, they think themselves privileged to sport with the lives and purses of their unfortunate patients. Shops are the diploma to practice; the sale of drugs, good or bad, must furnish them with subsistence; for the Turks are strangers to giving fees, except to physicians under ambassadorial protection, and who have no shops: even then their fees are bestowed very sparingly.

A Greek physician of some note, finding himself in a time of pestilence
unable

unable to retreat into the country for want of money, set his wits to work how to provide it: they are fertile in resources on such occasions. A Turk of high rank and great opulence had an only son, who happened just at that time to have a slight indisposition, occasioned by the eruption of a great boil. The Doctor, working on paternal tenderness and fear, soon persuaded the father it was the plague, tho' he hoped of the less malignant kind. The father, alarmed, intreated and conjured him to undertake his cure. The physician, appearing to be seized with horrid apprehensions, hesitated, doubted, and at last told him, that he knew but one possible method to ensure success, which was by administering the bezoar stone, if he could by any ways and means procure it; for that it was extremely difficult to be found, and excessively dear. The father pressed, intreated,

treated,

treated, conjured, that he would obtain one at any rate. The physician feigning great anxiety and perplexity where, and how to find it, left him with seeming despair of success; yet pretending to go and seek for it: he returned, as if he had miraculously found one, though he had it in his pocket before. He had purchased it for ten shillings, but demanded of the Turk twenty-five pounds, as the lowest price, and it was paid him. The cure succeeded, and the physician retired into the country, boasting of his great abilities, which had supplied his immediate necessity by so ingenious, and, as he thought, laudable an expedient.

Another physician of more eminence in his time, gave out, that he could always command pregnancy in women by an infallible arcanum; that though he had made the discovery

very

very with great study and expence, he would not conceal it; for as no other physicians had it in their shops, he was the only one who could supply the afflicted with it; that, in short, it was simply lion's urine. Buyers flocking to him, he prepared his own urine, and sold it at an extravagant rate. If complaints were brought him that the medicine did not succeed, the excuse was at hand; it was always some fault either in the time or manner of administering his medicine: he knew that with women he could not be admitted to correct either.

Any common servant to a physician of tolerable reputation, after a few years service, were it only in beating at the mortar, or even in carrying about drugs, thinks himself sufficiently skilled in the medical art to stand on his own bottom, and kill by diploma.

I have

I have known a Greek of great eminence and practice much favoured by a vizir; yet this Doctor could not write.

The Armenians, with seeming ponderous stupidity in their countenance and make, are yet, as to all animal wants, as subile and designing a people as the Greeks.

They are reckoned the best grooms in Turkey; and by the care they take of a horse, seem to have something in their nature congenial with that animal. One of them, who had served many years in that capacity, advanced his station by being admitted as a menial servant of a private gentleman. His master fell into a decay, and though long attended by an able physician, died.

After his death, the Armenian, disdaining servitude, set up for a physician.

He

He was observed one day going to a Turk of great distinction, attended by several servants, and treated with uncommon respect. The question being asked who he was, it was answered, an eminent Armenian physician.

Some time after, one who knew him, expostulated with him on his insolence and temerity; and asked him, where, and by what means he could fancy he had learned physic? how he dared to expose his own life, which would be forfeited, the first time a Turk fell a victim to his own ignorance?

He answered, he had sufficiently learned that art from the physician, who formerly attended his master; and who he was certain administered medicines with great caution; that as he had observed his master, in most disorders, occasioned by colds, had made use of warm punch, of which the Doctor also usually partook, he had
for

for that reason, conceived a high opinion of it, had tried it on himself with success; and therefore, he limited his prescription to that medicine only; and as it was exceedingly agreeable and palatable to the great men who employed him, and generally successful, he was amply rewarded for it.

The city of Constantinople actually swarms with such wretches, or rather indeed, worse: they are, it is thought, increased within these forty years to above a thousand.

Tho' the modern Greeks are almost strangers to the virtues, or to all arts and learning of the antients, they have surprisingly retained their levity. Without the least knowledge of Homer, Anacreon, or Theocritus, they abound in poetry, such as it is, love songs, ballads, and pastorals; they are incessantly singing or dancing.

They have carefully preserved the Cretan Lyre, and Pan's pipe, the *septem imparibus calamis*, "seven unequal reeds," and also the pipe of the Arcadian Shepherds.

They still use the ancient long dance led by one person, either with women alone, or intermixed with men and women, called by pre-eminence the *Romeika*, or Greek dance.

They have also the manly martial Pyrrhic dance, and those most obscene infamous love dances, accompanied with the *Ionici Motus*, offensive to all modesty and decency.

C H A P. XIV.

On the religion of the Greeks.

BEFORE I dismiss the Greeks, I shall take some notice of the state of religion amongst them, and produce a few facts to illustrate what I advance.

The name of Christian, which they profess, with great constancy, under the oppression of Turkish government, has induced us to commiserate their sufferings ; while their abhorrence of popery, and the unremitting hate with which they are persecuted by the Romanists, have recommended them to Protestants of every denomination ; and persuaded us, that their religion has a respectable share of purity both in its doctrines and practice.

About the time of the Reformation, and more especially in the reign of

James I. even those inclined to Puritanism entertained a favourable opinion of the Greek church. Cyrillus Lucaris, patriarch of Constantinople, had almost persuaded archbishop Abbot, that his doctrines did not differ from perfect Calvinism. The patriarch meant no more by this, than to obtain the favour of the English court, and the protection of their ambassador at Constantinople; supposing it the most probable means of securing himself from the violent persecution raised against him by the ministers of the Roman Catholic powers, who, at that time, with the most assiduous activity, and at a prodigious expence, in support of their own missionaries, attempted the subversion of the Greek church; but it must be acknowledged, that he gave a very false account of his religion.

It is with great reluctance that I repeat the melancholy truth, but it is the truth, the Greeks, like some other sects of Christians, have entirely neglected to cultivate the practice of true religion. They seem to have forgotten those real, and, perhaps, only terms, on which mortals can render themselves acceptable to the Deity; that purity of manners, brotherly love, forgiveness of injuries, justice in our dealings, and those other Christian duties every where inculcated in the gospel of Christ; while the name of religion is solely appropriated to the firm belief of certain mysteries, and the regular practice of external acts of humiliation and worship, with a strict observance of many austere fasts and mortifications, which at best can be only intended as the means of facilitating our approach to Christian perfection.

Hence

Hence it is, that the Greeks seem to look on the eternal laws of social and moral virtue as the shadow only, and the arbitrary injunctions of their church, as the very essence of Christianity; and they think to compound for the total neglect of the former, by a rigid observance of the latter; inso-much that a Greek of the most depraved manners would suffer almost any thing, sooner than break a religious fast: the Armenians, indeed, surpass them in the number and auster-ity of these fasts, and in the strictness of their abstinence.

Although the love of money is not less predominant with the Greeks than with the Turks, yet their purses are ever open for the support of the ecclesiastical dignity, the building and decoration of their churches, and the maintenance of their claims to the ex-

clusive possession of the holy places in Palestine, against the Romanists, who make the like pretensions.

At the accession of Sultan Mustapha, their present sovereign, the Greek churches were in a ruinous condition ; one of them had been almost entirely burnt down : the Mahometan law does not permit new churches to be erected ; even large repairs are prohibited. On the birth of the Sultan's first child, the Vizir suggested to him what kind of favours he should confer on his different subjects, during the ten days appointed for the rejoicings on that great event, so important to the peace of the empire. Amongst others he mentioned, as a most acceptable indulgence to the Greeks, a permission to repair that church which the fire had almost destroyed : he durst not ask leave to rebuild it, though there was scarce a wall standing. The
Grand

Grand Seignor condescended to grant them the ten days for that repair. No sooner was this known, but every Greek mason and labourer quitted all his other work, and flew to contribute his assistance at the church: two or three thousand men constantly relieving each other, the whole was accomplished, and the church rebuilt, in less time than was allowed for the repair, and that without any one disbursing a fixpence. The only reward the workmen received for their indefatigable labour was conscious merit, and the priest's blessings. Let this suffice for an instance of their zeal.

I could wish to throw a veil over the scandalous contentions which have been carried on between the Greeks and Romanists on account of Bethlehem, and the Holy-Land, as it is called: the iniquitous proceedings attending them are so enormous, as

shamefully to disgrace the Christian name. The ambassador who protects the interest of the Romish religion, becomes, on these occasions, notwithstanding his high dignity, a real object of compassion.

Immense sums are raised in all the countries of the Romish persuasion, to support them against the Greeks, in their pretensions to a spot of ground which they fancy sacred; and to preserve in the hands of popish monks and friars the remains of an old stable at Bethlehem, where a chapel is built, and in which, on the authority of an uncertain oral tradition, they suppose Christ was born; and also a sepulchre, which may be, but most probably is not, what they call it, his sepulchre: the exact situations of both places, are at present as unknown as that of Julius Cæsar's urn,

Why

Why the princes of Christendom will suffer their countries to be despoiled of so much wealth, and permit it to be paid on this account, as a tribute into the hands of the Turks, is hardly conceivable; and why no angel has flown, or swam, across the sea with this sepulchre, or this manger, as with the house at Loretto, is yet a greater wonder. Princes, it should seem, still permit this tribute to be paid to the Turks, because they have thought it best to leave this business as they found it; and not chusing to meddle with what are called religious matters, suffer the clergy to go on with the same practices as prevailed in the times of the darkest ignorance, and the most extravagant superstition. At present, few or no pilgrims of the Romish persuasion resort to these places of devotion. So that the most probable reasons to be assigned for the at-

tachment of their clergy to the possession of them are, that it occasions much money to pass through their hands, and affords a maintenance for about an hundred and sixty idle monks and friars, who are distributed about that country.

In the contest between the Greeks and Romanists for the right of possessing the chapel at Bethlehem, and the stable, treasures have been expended by both parties, to the great emolument of the Turks, who take care, from time to time, to encourage the dispute, giving sentence sometimes in favour of the one, and sometimes of the other. Under Ragib Bashaw's government, it was finally determined in favour of the Greeks, at an expence equivalent at least to 10,000*l.* sterling.

The Holy Sepulchre has been, and still is, as great an object of contention

tion between them, and a prodigious annual expence to both.

But what is worse, the Turks knowing the riches and obstinacy of these contending parties, find numberless other pretences to pillage their wealth. The caravan for Mecca passes near Jerufalem. When it approaches that holy city, the *Emir Hadge* either enters in person, or sends a message to demand a loan from the Greek and Romish convents; or, perhaps, on some pretence of right, to exact a sum of money, 20, or 30,000 l. sterling from each party: they dare not refuse. If it be a loan, it is never repaid; if on a pretence of right, be it ever so groundless, the sum is irrecoverably lost, and never heard of more.

The Greeks behave with much prudence on these occasions; they stifle their complaints, bear the loss, and immediately replenish the fund, that
they

they may again be in a condition to combat the Bashaws and the Romanists : they would even sell their children rather than permit the latter to triumph over them.

The ambassador, whose peculiar charge it is to protect the Romanists, wears out his very soul in fruitless application at the Porte, to recover the sum of which his convent has been stripped. With much difficulty he may obtain the Sultan's command in his favour, that is, an order for reimbursement ; but it procures him no money ; and what is more vexatious, he is frequently imposed on, by the misrepresentations and downright falsities of these priests and monks established in Palestine, who are continually pestering him with slanderous accusations against the Greeks : He is officially bound to support them ; and after suffering in his credit at the Turkish

7

court,

court, by the mortifications he is obliged to bear, when these falsities are detected; he is reviled at Rome by the whole body of clergy, as a lukewarm Christian, and an unskilful politician.

The Greek system of religious opinions and their mode of worship, are pretty generally known. They agree with the Romanists in the main points of the doctrine of the corporeal presence, their veneration for saints, and the adoration they pay to the Virgin Mary: in their image-worship they differ; they honour paintings, but allow of no sculpture. The procession of the Holy Ghost is another, and most important article of dissension; they hold it is from the Father only. They scoff at the pope's pretensions to infallibility, and at his claim to be supreme head of the universal Christian church. Their clergy give no
pre-

previous dispensation for the omission of any religious duty, but reserve the absolution of all transgressions and sins till after they are committed.

Aburd and superstitious practices abound among them, and frequent abuses happen, the natural concomitants of uninformed credulity, not peculiar to the Greeks only : one of a singular nature was carried on a few years ago, by a *Caloyero*, or monk. He had some years before been noted for his irregular and profligate life, and had been in the gallies at Constantinople. On being released, he affected an extraordinary degree of sanctity, and enthusiastic fits of devotion. If he did not lay claim to the higher gifts of miraculous powers, he at least pretended to have celestial communications, and to be endowed with the peculiar grace of ensuring to women in years, happiness in the world to come ; and to
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the young and middle-aged females the happiness of this world a numerous issue. Barrenness is looked upon in Turkey as a curse: women who bear no children are hardly treated with common civility, the sovereign good and honour therefore of every wife in that country, is to be a good breeder. The hope of becoming mothers, it may of course be imagined, led shoals of unhappy females to the new saint; the privileged dispenser of pregnancy.

He established himself at Caterlee, a village in Asia, to which you pass by water in a few hours from Constantinople; his emissaries were dispersed through all the neighbourhood, and wherever they went, spread the fame of his sanctity and his marvellous gifts. Devotees flocked to him: it was reckoned that eight thousand women, of different ages, ran in a short time, to participate of such de-

firable graces: The faint was a stout man, of a middle age, and never failed to send away his female votaries perfectly edified.

Some men at length visited him, and seemingly approved his proceedings ; not that they really believed in his pretensions to sanctity, but because they would not, by publishing their suspicions, cast the least shadow of injury on the character of the sex. They wished the sterility of their wives removed, but they apprehended the means might be disagreeable to themselves. The journey was pleasant, the passage by water convenient, and other adventures might co-operate with the faint's spiritual endeavours. Hints of this were given to the Turks, who soon made this impostor decamp. He was not heard of afterwards. He did not, however, quit his vocation empty-handed ; for the condition of approaching him

the purchase of a consecrated wax-taper, besides a free-gift; in both which articles, religious zeal, and the desire of becoming mothers, had engaged the good women to pay most generously.

The Greek religion, I am, however, told, is better supported, and maintained with greater purity on its primitive foundation in other countries, where it is professed undisturbed by Mahometans or Romanists. Nor would I be thought to mean, that there are no self-denying Metropolitans, and other honest men even amongst those in Turkey.

THE
STATUTE
OF THE
TURKEY COMMERCE
CONSIDERED;

From its Origin to the present Time.

A 2

ADVERTISEMENT.

A Sincere zeal for the welfare of my country, to promote which I look upon as the first duty of every good subject, has induced me to lay the present state of the Turkey trade before the public.

Here the people of England may see how much they are interested in the support of this trade, and that on them depends its preservation or total destruction. They should therefore make it their study to reconcile the seemingly jarring interests and private views of merchants and manufacturers, the unnatural jealousies subsisting between different parts of the kingdom, as well as between county and county, since the interest of them all, if rightly understood, is one and the same. They should likewise fortify their souls with manly resolution, and endeavour to become superior to vain, imaginary horrors, and groundless fears of pestilence and contagion. They should like men of sense judge of future, by a retrospect of former times, and take it for granted, that what has not happened in the course of two centuries, will never come to pass.

Our excellent monarch, whose abilities are equal to his virtues, being thoroughly informed of

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

the state of the Turkey commerce, and of the advantages and disadvantages resulting from every branch of the trade of these kingdoms, uses his best endeavours to promote their prosperity. His ministers have done their utmost to forward and assist the Levant trade; but they have no power over the passions and prejudices of the human mind. This is the work of reason alone; let Englishmen therefore endeavour to act and think justly, and bring their biased understandings to a right sense of their country's good. Let them with steadiness and resolution have recourse to the effectual methods to vanquish their rivals in trade. If they exert themselves properly, their efforts will be seconded by the powerful assistance of the whole legislature, which will not fail to join in reviving and re-establishing this important and lucrative commerce, now at its last gasp.

Such errors and mistakes as may occur in the following sections, are submitted to the candid review and correction of those, to whom experience in these matters may suggest any thing farther useful on so important a subject.

T H E

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S T A T E
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T U R K E Y C O M M E R C E
C O N S I D E R E D.

S E C T. I.

Previous General Remarks.

TH E principal qualities required in a financier, as a great * statesman has observed, and experience confirms, are a moderate share of judgment, great in-

* On peut affurer que les finances d'un état sont omb ées en des bonnes mains, lorsqu' un peu de jugement, beaucoup de travail & d'exactitude & plus de probité encore, sont les qualités du Financier. *Sully's Memoirs.*

dustry and exactness, and still greater integrity. The same observation holds good with regard to merchants ; industrious men of moderate parts are the people that make fortunes by trade, whilst men of lively genius and quick talents generally prove unsuccessful. Imagination and vivacity of genius are seldom found compatible with industry and exactness, or even a small portion of judgment ; and I fear it would be too hard a task for such unthinking minds, to subject themselves to act constantly according to the strictest unbiassed rules of integrity.

Speculative writers on commerce have rather given us the sallies of their own imagination, than any useful hints towards its improvement : it is scarce possible they should do otherwise ; for commerce is not merely to be confined to theoretical discussion ;

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it must become practical, and can be proved and investigated only by experiment; it is nothing else but a barter or exchange of the commodities or products of one country for those of another. Nations therefore, which intend to become commercial, should endeavour to find out others that have wants, which their own products or manufactures may supply; and from whence they can receive such products and manufactures as their own necessities may require; or if they have none, which can seldom be the case, the returns then to be made at an intermediate value in gold or silver. But nations which have been established in commerce for centuries, and whose prosperity excites envy, should be swayed by other motives. The preservation of what they possess, ought to have more weight with them than any other consideration; and

when they see a general commercial spirit diffused all over Europe, they should exert themselves most diligently and seriously, to obviate any ill that may befall their own commerce. If they find it any way decline, they should endeavour to trace the cause of such decline, whether it arises from any defect in their own products and manufactures, or from any advantage other nations may have over them, by their superior industry ; or, as it is but too frequently the case, from any prejudice of the countries they trade with, in favour of other nations, their rivals. By such a provident attention they may find means to retrieve their commerce in time, and disappoint those who have risen in competition against them.

S E C T. II,

Origin and Progress of the Turkey Trade.

THE great importance of the Levant or Turkey trade is well known to this kingdom: the stems of nobility sprung from that root loudly proclaim its former splendour. Commerce will have its ebb and flow; but this branch has sunk to such a degree, that the channel remains almost without hope of replenishing. We should not, however, despair; for, in taking a view of the causes of its decline, by examining the past and present situation of that great branch of commerce, and the state of that of our rivals the French, remedies may still be suggested, to re-establish it in some degree upon a footing advantageous to our own people.

The

The commercial capitulations subsisting between the crown of Great Britain and the Grand Seignor, were begun and formally confirmed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: additional privileges were successively granted in that of James the first, and of Charles the second. They are called capitulations, and not treaties, because they are mere concessions for privileges of trade, granted by the Porte, and no reciprocal concession, but merely a stipulation of friendship on the part of Great Britain.

Under these capitulations a number of merchants obtained a charter of some limitation. They were to bear the whole expences which might occur in England or the Levant; to pay ambassadors, consuls, and interpreters in Turkey, and submit to all the disadvantages and inconveniences resulting from the Turkish government. They
were

were citizens of London, living within twenty miles of that capital, or noblemen's younger sons qualified by birth; or such as by servitude to those under the charter obtained the freedom of the city; or, lastly, those who purchased the freedom of the city and their right to the charter for seventy pounds. They had no common stock, each individual traded in his own way, and on his own bottom. This society had a power of making whatever bye-laws might seem calculated to promote the advantage of their commerce. A judicious code was drawn up to regulate the conduct of the several members and factors at home and abroad; these were afterwards amended, as events arose or experience directed. They had regular stated seasons for sending out their ships annually; and in these general ships, as they were called, each indivi-

dual sent what sort and quantity of merchandize he thought proper to the markets in Turkey, consigning his venture to such English factors as he judged best qualified to dispose of them to advantage. He had his returns in the same manner.

They prohibited all bullion, whether gold or silver, to be sent into Turkey, that all purchases there might be made by the produce of our own manufactures ; this has been since confirmed by law.

Under these regulations this trade flourished ; and, I may venture to say, was the standard commerce of Great Britain for a century ; the nation enjoyed it almost without a rival. In the reign of James I. there were not less than from twenty to thirty Englishmen residing at Constantinople, as many at Smyrna, besides several others dispersed on the coast of Syria.

As

As the charter was confined to merchants of reputation and ample fortunes ; the young men sent abroad, had, by their education, acquired liberal sentiments, and behaved themselves amongst the Turks with such uncommon order and decorum, that the character of an English merchant was in high credit with that nation.

The exports to Turkey were very considerable, all in our own manufactures ; our cloth was sold for ready money upon the arrival of the ships ; the probity and good faith of our merchants and manufacturers were such, that the drapers bought the cloth on seeing the patterns, without examining the inside of the bale, and were not deceived, the true standard of goodness never failing. Such was the state of this trade in its flourishing times.

S E C T.

S E C T. III.

Decline of the Turkey Trade, and from what Causes.

WE have been told for many years past, that the decline of the Turkey trade has been totally owing to the industry of the French in manufacturing their cloth, and to the moderate price at which they sell it: this has, doubtless, contributed to our misfortune ; but we have never taken into consideration the concurrence of events and circumstances, of which they have judiciously availed themselves : if we give a sufficient attention to these, we shall, I believe, be convinced, that the quality of the French cloth alone would never have reduced our trade with Turkey to its present low ebb. For if the Levant company had
been

been preserved, in its original state, and the standard of our old cloth kept up, by means of the present gratuity from parliament, we may presume that we should have to this day supported that trade, without perceiving any considerable diminution.

Our cloth was stout, the wool fine spun, a close woof, short nap, not immoderately stretched on the tenters, of good bright colours; but, what rendered it more valuable to the drapers in Turkey, was, that it would stand the taylor's test, and suffer him to spout cold water, and then pass a cold iron over it without raising the nap. The French cloth was undoubtedly of a finer wool and finer spun, but thinner, of little substance, a looser woof, yet with a short nap, and a variety of bright fancied colours: and, indeed, it has been so thin
of

of late, that they greatly undersell us, though perhaps at a loss *.

That the French did not much interfere with our cloth from the year 1729 to 1739, will appear from the regular quantity of our imports into Constantinople during that period of ten years †.

It has been said that our imports amounted from 7 to 800 bales before that period ; but even though that should be admitted, the French cloth might not have been the sole cause.

We know by experience that the least remove of any branch of trade out of the usual course, tho' but for a short time, will, where rivals can come at a supply, cause that course to stagnate, and expose this branch of trade to a total ruin : wants must be sup-

* French cloth then sold at $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars the pike, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the English yard ; and since, at 75 paras *.

† See note concerning imports, Sect. iv.

• Note, 40 paras make a dollar, and 16 paras one shilling.

plied, and one so essential as that of a covering to shelter the body from the inclemency of the weather, will occasion a constant demand of such goods as are adapted to that purpose. War, rumours of war, the uncertain state of the political world, with regard to peace and war, in which a nation may be involved, will stop the hand of the merchant; he will not care to run a new risk, nor expose his property to high insurance; he therefore interrupts business, and the draper abroad must buy his cloth where he can.

This may have been the case in the years 1727 and 1728, by our dispute with the house of Austria and Spain, terminated by the treaty of Seville; which may have afterwards prevented the increase of our exports in the same quantity as before that period.

The factor may have sent complaints of his being under apprehen-

sions that the cloth had lost the currency, for want of a supply, which may have slackened his principal's shipping in 1729, till he had tried the market. Hence may have arisen a decrease of the quantity of cloth by some bales annually. Be that as it may, this truth has been but too glaring ever since 1739, and from that period we may date a sensible decline of our trade to Turkey. This went so far, that there was not a single bale of cloth imported into Constantinople that year, which was owing to the Spanish war. The trade, though in a languishing state, continued to be carried on till the year 1744. It was not the dread of war alone, that gave it the first fatal blow, but an unhappy ill-judged regulation at home, which produced many ill consequences. An eminent citizen, who received as much hearsay information as any man

the kingdom, and who was listened to like an oracle in parliament, laid it down as a maxim, that all companies were pernicious, and should be destroyed.

Unfortunately he considered the Levant society, which traded without any joint stock, as one of these. His sentiments were zealously adopted by other considerable persons, who, no doubt, had different views. The motive by which they seemed to have been chiefly actuated, was a desire to displace the prime minister; they thought he had too long possessed his exalted dignity, and seemed to repine at his prosperity. Having formed this design, they apprehended that the first step towards carrying it into execution, was to deprive him of the support of the trading companies; and took it for granted that when they had thus sapped

the foundations of his power, it would be an easy matter to wrest it from him, and get it into their own hands.

The Turkey merchants at that time formed the most opulent and respectable body of men in the city ; this of course rendered them objects of envy. As they ingenuously acknowledged the decline of their trade ; idleness and want of industry, the natural consequences of affluence and ease were laid to their charge. It was therefore urged, that this trade should be put into the hands of more industrious men, that they might revive and restore to a flourishing condition a branch which the others had monopolized, and then suffered to run to decay. In consequence of these general and repeated outcries, the Levant company was doomed to fall the first victim. So powerful were its enemies, that the total ruin of the society seemed to be

be at hand; but they could not compass the chief point which they had in view, namely, that of entirely destroying their charter. The parliament soon perceived, that neither themselves nor government could support a branch of trade, which those, whose immediate interest it was to preserve it, were ready to throw up. The batteries against these were therefore changed, and a resolution formed to introduce some alteration in their charter and their bye-laws, especially that of annual ships, which seemed to be the greatest abuse, and to furnish the most specious pretext for opposing the society.

It was asserted that such a limitation was highly prejudicial to navigation, prevented the employing of ships, and obstructed the increase of seamen. This objection appeared to parliament to be so just and solid, that a resolution was quickly formed to permit

every member of the company in the Levant-trade, to send ships at whatever time of the year they thought proper. The best meaning men in parliament were hurried along by the torrent of prejudice, the utmost art having been used by designing persons to prepossess their minds, and draw them in to second their ill intentions. They would not open their eyes to a self-evident truth; namely, that no advantage in the monopolizing way could be derived by individuals from these annual ships; and that the company in general was still less able to avail itself of them, as the members were generally at variance, and divided amongst themselves. They would not reflect, that in order to promote navigation, goods and merchandize must find a currency and vent abroad; that the very extension of navigation they had resolved upon, was an effectual

effectual method to prevent the sales of cloth in Turkey, and that of consequence they contributed to ruin both trade and navigation.

Drapers in Turkey, whether Greeks or Jews, are animals that have nothing in common with the rest of the human species but their form ; they abound with low cunning in contriving the means of supplying their wants ; their lives are entirely regulated by habit and custom ; nay, most of them are blindly attached to the manners and way of living of their forefathers. An inveterate custom among them, and which had been delivered down from father to son for a century, was to buy their cloth for ready money upon the arrival of our annual ships, to take the supply that autumn, and then lie by contented, that no more English cloth could be

imported till the year following. But they no sooner heard that a new regulation was going to be made, that ships would drop in every month, and that if they would stop their hands at the first ship and cease buying, such quantities of cloth would soon be imported that the price would of consequence fall considerably, than they immediately followed the advice, waited the coming of a second ship, and after that of a third, till the season for buying was elapsed. In the mean time our rivals left no stone unturned to make the drapers believe, that it would be for their advantage to provide themselves with their cloth, and so far succeeded, that the little we sold them could be got off only by dint of prolonged credit.

It must therefore be acknowledged, that this regulation greatly contributed,
with

with other concurring causes, to occasion the ruin of our trade. For though we may in part ascribe the decline to the quality and cheapness of French cloth, to the threats of impending war, and to the uncertainty of the political state of Europe, or to actual hostilities ; if we include the period from 1729 to 1738, we shall find that in those years, as well as in 1733 and 1739, our state of uncertainty was worse even than a state of war; and yet from ten years of the former period to ten years of the latter, our imports of cloth into Constantinople decreased greatly above one half. In the first period they amounted to 574 bales of cloth annually ; in the latter from 1739 to 1748 inclusive, to 236 bales. Hence the annual decrease appears to have been of 338 bales. Notwithstanding the visible destruction of our trade resulting from
this

this measure, and the triumph of our rivals which followed thereupon, these consequences were so little the objects of concern at home, that, as if some evil genius was determined to give the Levant trade the last blow, and plunge it into utter ruin, there followed two other regulations in the year 1754, which did the business effectually.

S E C T. III.

Alteration of the charter extremely prejudicial to the Turkey trade,

ONE of these regulations was proposed in parliament under the specious pretence of public good, like the former, tho' it was evident only private views were intended. The outcry on this occasion, as well as in part on the former, was founded upon that odious word monopoly; it

it was urged, that this Levant company, or rather no company, continued to foster that monster; that their charter, confined to citizens and noblemen's younger sons, cramped all industry, prevented the honest and industrious citizen and trader in every other town, and all his majesty's subjects in general, from trading to the Levant.

Bristol, as the next city for commerce to London, was of course concerned in the affair, for this bustle was excited merely on her account; a law however was proposed in parliament, with regard to all the out-ports, and, in general, that all subjects of Great-Britain, and even naturalized persons, should have the freedom of that company, on paying 20 l. sterling.

The fact is, that the Levant company could admit on a legal construction of their charter any English subject to
the

the freedom of that society ; the best counsel had been consulted, but the opinions of none but parliamentary counsel were attended to ; the kingdom was alarmed, and so the law passed in parliament. Consequences were as little foreseen in the present, as in the former case ; the matter was specious, and that was sufficient: they never once took it into consideration what capitals were necessary to carry on the Levant trade, nor whether every man that was able to pay the 20 l. had a sufficient fortune to support the accidents and delays attending that branch of commerce. The old Turkey merchants might have told them, as I take it for granted they did, that very considerable capitals were requisite for carrying on that trade, as they were often under a necessity of waiting two or three years for the returns of their merchandize : that as credits were already extended

in Turkey, they might increase enormously, whence those who were distressed for money, must be obliged to force sales, or barter at any rate: that when they imported merchandize into England, they must press sales for money at profit or loss, and therefore such merchants as engaged in that trade, should be persons who could wait patiently the currency of market for sales or returns, and be satisfied with 5 or 6 *per cent.* the year for their money, as was the case of those who were actually concerned in carrying on and supporting that commerce.

The old merchants had continued with restrictions and caution to ship goods for Turkey, for the sake of their friends the factors abroad, ever since the year 1744; but upon the passing of this law, many of them quitted the trade entirely, and left it to the new adventurers; so that but few of them
 conti-

continue it to this day, as I have been credibly informed. The succeeding merchants will not venture large sums ; nor, if they can avoid it, will they expose themselves to wait eternally for returns, or let their money lie in the precarious hands of drapers in Turkey, under great difficulties. Besides these considerations, others should have occurred ; for instance, granting that any of the merchants at the sea-port towns could find cloth and other commodities fit to ship for Turkey, even cheaper than in London, whether they could dress, dye, and prepare their cloth for that market ? But facts speak for themselves ; what has this mighty extension of navigation and commerce produced ? For these twenty-six years past the trade has been carried on by four or five small ships annually, instead of two or three large ones ; consequently

frequently there has been no increase of seamen. For these sixteen years past we have had two new members of the Turkey company, one from Bristol and the other from Halifax, who, as far as I have heard, never sent a single bale of cloth to Turkey.

The other regulation so fatal to the Turkey trade, which had taken its rise from this and the former, was indeed founded on a true public spirit, and certainly was in no respect dictated by private and interested views. A humane concern for the safety of his fellow-creatures suggested to a person of approved experience and ability this obvious truth, that as the Levant company was by that law become more diffused, loose, and extended, both with regard to navigation and traders, it must be the more difficult to observe such salutary regulations as the old merchants had made, for stopping

ping the progress of that fatal disease, the plague, which so often prevails in Turkey. Since the first establishment of their charter that dreadful malady had never been introduced into England, either by them or their merchandize.

The new form that charter was thrown into required new precautions : hence the wise citizen, above-mentioned, formed a resolution to propose to parliament the establishing good, secure, and proper quarantines, with Lazarettos and other conveniences for the accommodation of poor seamen, that the people of England might be as secure as the French, Venetians, and Tuscans, and receive even infected ships into their harbours, without any danger of spreading the contagion as it is customary with these people.

As the other regulation we mentioned had been long premeditated, before it was proposed to the house of Commons,

mons, his reflections upon it were sudden and undigested; he could not, therefore, devise the proper means, or find proper places and funds that session of parliament to bring his great and important establishment immediately to bear. He was, however, too sensible of the greatness of the danger not to think of providing, without delay, some effectual temporary remedy.

Hence he proposed a summary law to oblige all English ships from Turkey to perform quarentine either at Malta or Leghorn, and to forbid all infected ships from approaching our coasts under the most severe penalties, nor to suffer any to be admitted upon any conditions with a foul bill of health.

The misfortune of the Levant trade has been, that this law has

continued, though the great plan, to which it was preparatory, has never been carried into execution. The excellent projector died, and his plan with him.

Hence arose double mischief to the Levant trade; property became precarious by one law, and was rendered more so and put out of the power of the trader by another. There seldom passes a year in Turkey in which the plague does not spread its contagion to some sea-port town in that country, or, at least, without there being some suspicion of it. Those scourges that are inflicted upon us by Providence require our submission and resignation; but the worst is, we may be certain that, even when Providence spares us, cases of infection will often be forged and invented by our crafty rivals in commerce.

It

It is a generally received opinion, that the Turkey company subsists by an exclusive charter for the importation of all the products of Turkey to England, which is not the case ; for their article of exclusion extends merely to silk and mohair yarn : all other articles, as cotton, box-wood, goat's wool, fruit, drugs, &c. are imported by or from Leghorn, or other parts of Italy. When therefore any English ships come to take in their cargoes, foreign merchants, Italians, Jews, and Armenians, immediately enter into a combination, and lay their heads together to discover some plague cases ; these they suggest to the foreign consuls, who instantly declare them as such, and send off the ships with foul bills of health. These merchants have, perhaps, at that very time large cargoes of cotton, goat's wool, fruit, and drugs, ship-

ped and ready to fail on foreign bottoms * for Leghorn, to furnish our markets ; whilst our ships, which cannot obtain a clean bill of health from our consul, are obliged to put up with their disappointment and expence, and return quite empty : in the mean time, our industrious merchant at home is liable to be reduced to the utmost distress, for want of his returns from Turkey.

Without a circulation of such returns no cloth can be exported to Turkey ; the supply once neglected, the trade stagnates of course. The French, convinced of this truth, suffered all foreigners to export their cloth to Turkey during the last war ; they found their own navigation so impeded, that they

* The Dutch admit on foul bills of health, though their quarentine is worse regulated than ours.

could

could not furnish the supply themselves, except at a great risk and expence; this enhanced the price of their cloth, prevented the drapers from purchasing, and consequently stopped the currency: but, no sooner was the peace concluded, than they resumed their former maxims of excluding foreigners.

S E C T. IV.

Estimate of the Decrease of our Trade to Turkey.

THOUGH the estimate of the decrease of our trade to Turkey has been chiefly taken from Constantinople, it would be wrong to conclude from thence, that it has been in a more flourishing condition in other parts. Constantinople is, indeed, a sure barometer to form a judgment by, as that market supplies the Aleppo trade with ready money, to help off the barter of our cloth for silk, and contributes chiefly to purchase mohair, yarn, cotton, and other commodities at Smyrna.

The two other chief marts of our trade, Smyrna and Aleppo, must therefore follow Constantinople of course, and are not in a better state: it must, indeed,

indeed, be acknowledged that those cities may assign additional causes for the decline of their commerce, as that of the intercourse with * Persia having been discontinued for many years, no caravans appearing at either place from that kingdom with Sherbaffe or Ardaset silks to take off our cloth in barter ; as likewise, that

* Another late grievance which has affected the Turkey trade, in its only essential part, has been the quantity of cloth sent by the East-India Company, to Bassora in the Persian Gulph : this cloth is sold there to Armenians and others, who carry it by caravans to the coast of Syria, and sell it at a cheaper rate than the Levant-company can either sell, or barter it for silk, which is their principal return. We may indeed consider this as a mere temporary evil, which cannot long subsist ; for the cheap price, with the accumulated bad debts which the East-India Company must contract, will soon make them feel, if corporated bodies will or can feel like private men, that they are trading at a heavy loss. And if they will attend to the vast losses they have undergone at Bagdat and Bassora for forty years past, they will, I dare say, be convinced they have of late been drawn into that trade merely for the advantage and emolument of some of their servants.

Aleppo being more distant, is more exposed to the extortions and irregularities of that government; whence the property of those Turkish subjects, with whom our nation has dealings, and whom we also employ, is more precarious. But these grievances they have in common with all other Christian nations established in that country, and must be equally affected by them. The true causes of the decline of their trade are the same by which that of Constantinople has suffered, as will evidently appear upon tracing their imports from the æra of the regulations made at home, particularly from that of the year 1754*.

* The medium imports of cloth in Constantinople distinguished by a period of 10 years from 1729 to 1768, inclusive.

	Bales.	Medium com. ann.
From 1729 to 1738, inclusive, -	5742	574
From 1739 to 1748, ditto, -	2363	236
From 1749 to 1758, ditto, -	2093	209
From 1759 to 1768, ditto, -	873	87
		Imports

The merchants at home and the factors in Turkey, distressed by the perplexing difficulties they had to struggle with from the new regulations, were obliged to have recourse to every expedient they could think of to support this almost expiring commerce.

The quality of the cloth, therefore, grew worse and worse every day. The pieces in the bale often proved infe-

Imports into Constantinople for 15 years preceding the first regulation in 1744, and for 15 years after; which takes in 4 years after the second regulation.

	Bales.	Medium. com. ann.
From 1729 to 1743, inclusive;	7407	494
From 1744 to 1758, ditto,	2791	185

Imports from the first most visible decline of our trade in 1739, until 1768, distinguishing every five years.

From 1739 to 1744, first opening the navigation,	-	-	1665	333
From 1744 to 1748,	-	-	698	139
From 1749 to 1753, five years before the second regulation				
in 1754,	-	-	1335	267
From 1754 to 1758,	-	-	758	151
From 1759 to 1763,	-	-	345	69
From 1764 to 1768,	-	-	528	105

Imports

rior to the patterns : the wool was coarse and ill-spun ; the woof loose, by immoderate stretching on the tenters, with a long nap, and bad colours ; and, what was still worse, would not bear the taylor's proof. When strict œconomy must be used, the best commodities cannot be purchased : they

Imports of cloth to Smyrna for 21 years, distinguishing every 7 years from those preceding 1754, and after to 1768.

	Bales.		Bales.
1748	550	1755	328
1749	497	1756	119
1750	846	1757	412
1751	212	1758	187
1752	279	1759	...
1753	435	1760	84
1754	560	1761	82
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	3379		1212
	Medium 482.		Medium 173.
	1762	169	
	1763	54	
	1764	105	
	1765	150	
	1766	178	
	1767	38	
	1768	158	
	<hr/>		
		852	Medium 122.

Imports

bought in England, perhaps, with a view of selling very cheap in Turkey; and by that bait, bringing their cloth to a currency. The result, however, was, that credits were enormously extended at Constantinople to the drapers, with a view of tempting them to buy; much ready money, or ready money com-

Imports of cloth into Aleppo for 21 years, distinguishing every 7 years from the first 7 before 1754, the second regulation.

	Bales.		Bales.
1748	903	1762	425
1749	1150	1763	359
1750	1832	1764	691
1751	222	1765	421
1752	716	1766	519
1753	1093	1767	234
1754	624	1768	285
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	6540 Med. 934.		2934 Med. about 419.
	<hr/>		<hr/>
1755	1600		
1756	953		
1757	399		
1758	724		
1759	...		
1760	442		
1761	438		
	<hr/>		
	4556 Med. about 651.		

modities,

modities, were given in barter with their cloth at Smyrna and Aleppo ; and when the money was demanded of the drapers at Constantinople, after eighteen months or two year's credit, they have immediately produced the cloth, appealed to the quality, urged the impossibility of sales, and offered to return it as payment : the worst of it is, that, according to Turkish justice, such a tender is not only admissible but legal, and if the draper should persist to give it, the factor is obliged to take it.

S E C T. V.

*State of the French trade to Turkey, with
an account of their manufactures.*

THUS have we laid before the reader the true causes of the decline of our Levant, or Turkey trade. Let us now try whether after having
pointed

pointed out the evil, it may not be possible to find some remedy to it. The present is not one of those desperate cases in which the physician despairs of his patient, and declares it out of his power to do any thing for his relief ; it is one of those in which, though the health cannot be entirely restored by the power of physic, it may be so far repaired as to give the patient great ease, and make him live with much more satisfaction than he had done for several years before.

The French cloth trade has increased considerably by the decline of ours: the Dutch have also had their share. The former have not only used the most strict œconomy, but their government and chamber of commerce have given a constant attention to the least impediment their Turkey commerce suffered, either in France or in the Levant, and have formed a code of regulations

gulations which has greatly contributed to its prosperity. We shall now therefore make some general strictures upon the French trade, and lay before the reader an abstract of these regulations, as a basis on which a superstructure may hereafter be erected.

It is well known, that before the administration of the celebrated Colbert, the French scarce knew the value of manufactures or of trade. The year 1663 may be considered as the epocha of their origin in France. The first aim of that great minister was to engage the king to give them proper protection and encouragement. When he turned his thoughts to the cloth manufacture, which had been transferred by the Flemmings to Holland, he invited over Van Robais, one of the ablest manufacturers of his time, to settle at Abbeville, and carry on business there. This man received all possible encou-

rage ment ; every condition he required
 was granted him ; not only large sums
 were assigned him as a capital, but
 the king's bounty flowed in upon him
 on every side. Hands abounded for
 the work ; and that he might be en-
 abled to encourage artificers, two
 thousand livres, a sum much more
 considerable at that time than at
 present, were allowed him for every
 new loom he erected. So successful
 was he at his first setting out, that
 many were in a short time initiated in
 the whole art of manufacturing ; but
 the ablest of these were chosen to set-
 tle in various parts of the kingdom,
 and in the cheapest provinces : hence
 they were sent to reside in Languedoc,
 and enjoyed not only equivalent emo-
 luments from the king, with those in
 Picardy, but many additional ones, as
 habitations, &c. The circumstance of
 these establishments being in the neigh-
 bourhood

bourhood of so considerable a trading town as Marfeilles, engaged the merchants there to put the manufacturers upon endeavouring to imitate our cloth for the Levant trade ; they procured patterns, obtained additional advantages from the court, and artfully adopted the names of the several species of English cloth known in Turkey, as *Londras*, *Londrines*, *Nismes*. The capitals were small, and the beginnings slow in proportion ; but government, determined on success, engaged many monied men to join in the undertaking. The hope of gain conspired with their endeavours, and gave rise to a daily encrease of that commerce.

Their own security was the point they had chiefly a view to in their regulations. They had heard of the constant ravages occasioned in Turkey by the plague, as likewise of the uncertainty

tainty of the time and manner of the
 appearance of that disorder, or how it
 was or could be communicated. They
 therefore began by establishing a pro-
 per quarentine and lazaretto at Mar-
 seilles, their principal mart for the
 Turkey trade; these they thought
 would prove effectual for guarding a-
 gainst that evil. The first expence was
 moderate, in proportion to their trade,
 and became the more so, as since their
 commencing it they had not had the
 least grounds of suspicion from that
 distemper. But in the year 1720,
 the contagion fatally crept into that
 city, and made terrible ravages
 for some time. This event obliged
 them to redouble their expences
 and their vigilance; so that they have
 at last brought their quarentine to
 such security and perfection, that they
 even admit infected ships, without
 being under any apprehensions of

suffering by the plague: hence their trade is never interrupted. The next precaution to be taken was to secure the profits and advantages of that branch of commerce entirely to themselves; none therefore but Frenchmen, and the king's subjects, are allowed to trade directly to or from Turkey; all manufactures and merchandize shipped from France, and all the products of Turkey, by way of returns, must belong to them. If any Turkish goods or merchandize are shipped from any indirect ports of Europe to France, they pay a duty of 20 *per cent. ad valorem*, which amounts to a prohibition.

From these precautions they proceeded to others, without which the very vitals of trade must be affected; their grand and principal care was the goodness and quality of their cloth.

The fineness and thinness of their manufactures arises in a great measure, if
not

not totally, from the quality of their wool, which is either all Spanish or Barbary, or perhaps a mixture of these, with some of their own, about Narbonne, or such other sorts as they find cheaper and at hand. The lightness of their cloth is surprising; that of a piece they sold formerly for $2 \frac{1}{2}$ dollars the pike, not exceeding 25 pounds, and that of their present cloth sold at $1 \frac{1}{2}$ dollar at Aleppo, being about $17 \frac{1}{2}$ pounds.

Every lock of wool is carefully inspected before and after it is combed and spun, that the goodness may be found to answer the standard in working it. They with equal care and exactness examine the length, breadth, and dye of each piece, and whether the patterns exactly correspond. The severest penalties are inflicted on the inspector, if he happens to prove remiss in doing his duty, and on the

manufacturers, when guilty of any fraud or neglect in their work.

The same precaution is repeated in Turkey; the cloth is examined with the most scrupulous exactness. In proportion as the French trade increased, the easy intercourse between Turkey and Marseilles encouraged numbers of French subjects to settle at every place of trade. The numbers established made business pass into so many hands, that few could live and return to their mother-country with money sufficient to form a basis for industry, or carry on a future commerce from thence with success; neither could salutary regulations take place in that extensive empire, till that number was limited. Various abuses in living, highly offensive to the Turks, were introduced among them: hence many real or pretended grievances were complained of at the Porte; large expences

expences there became necessary, which, with sums previously given to the provincial governors, contributed to ruin the factors.

Cloth I have observed had been a ready money commodity, but was now reduced to long credit. Considerable capitals became the more necessary to carry on that trade, which the French had not ; these credits encouraged drapers to buy, and to become bankrupts ; delays of returns from Turkey had the same effect in France, so that it was found necessary to apply some immediate remedy, in order to prevent the French trade from being totally ruined.

Monf. de Villeneuve, who was then their ambassador at Constantinople, perceiving that the evil was gaining ground every day, exerted the utmost efforts of his genius and industry to stop its course, to find out the proper

remedy, and, to the best of his power, settle that commerce upon a secure and solid basis. His endeavours were seconded by the court and chamber of commerce.

S E C T. VI.

Regulations by which the French trade to Turkey was restored from a state of decline, to its present prosperity.

HENCE, the following laws were established: That the number of French houses at Constantinople should not exceed twelve: that every house, and each partner belonging to it, should be admitted by a certificate of permission from the minister of the marine in France: that French subjects should not remain in such a settlement in Turkey above ten years, except on account of some uncommon merit,

merit, or an extraordinary permission ; at the expiration of that term they were positively to return to France, or to be forcibly sent off by the ambassador.

In order to promote frugality, and the more easily to make such a fortune as might be improved by their industry in France, they were not allowed to marry in Turkey. Women in that country are very apt to run men into excessive expences, and tho' born of foreign parents, thy are by education and habit obstinately attached to the Oriental manners and customs ; nor can they quit them without the utmost reluctance. Hence they find it an easy matter to alienate a husband from his native country. Add to this, that it is very doubtful whether the Turkish government has not a right to lay a claim of subjection to all born within the empire : and though there is no example of their having used

that claim, even to the third and fourth generation of Franks settled among them, yet as there is no security from capitulations, Franks are, in such a case, at the mercy of a grand Vizir's caprice, which has been but too often exerted, when they have intermarried with women who were *Raias*, or subjects of the grand Seigneur.

The purchase of real estates as lands, houses, &c. is strictly forbid their very dragomans, or interpreters. Such purchases were made by them formerly, and many ill consequences of false claims and law-suits have arisen from thence. There is nothing to authorise such purchases in the capitulations; so that you must trust to the good faith of a Turkish subject, and buy in his name. The passion for purchasing seems notwithstanding infectious or incorrigible; no man thinks himself considerable, till he has acquired

acquired such possessions ; it is as violent, and almost as destructive as the passion for building was at Athens, which rose to such a height that it became proverbial, and they wished their greatest enemy might be seized with it.

The French subjects are not permitted to keep horses or carriages.

These regulations, however necessary, were but introductory to a more important one, which required greater caution and consideration, I mean that of securing the nation from the bankruptcy of drapers, occasioned by long credits. The attempt was hazardous, but they resolved to risk their whole trade, or succeed.

An officer was appointed to keep an exact account of all the cloth received by every one of the twelve houses, and a price was fixed upon each bale according to the quality. No
one

one was permitted to sell under that price ; two different divisions of sales were appointed for the year ; one of these was called the lesser division, the other the greater. At the former, each house was restrained from selling above a tenth part of the stock laid up in the magazine. At the latter, which was on the feast of Ramazan, when the Turks in general provide themselves with new cloaths, each house was at liberty to sell a fourth part of that stock.

A list of the names of all the drapers was made out. A strict inquiry into their expences and manner of living was set on foot, and as just an estimate as possible was taken of their wealth and methods of carrying on trade. These were divided into different classes, from the most opulent to the poor and industrious traders. The credit to be given to each class

was

was fixed from twenty, ten, or five, to one bale of cloth.

A general rule was then laid down, that full payment of all sales should be made within the space of seventy-five days ; and whoever exceeded that term should pay ten per cent. the year interest, for any part undischarged.

This rule, however, was not found sufficient alone, as credit with interest might continue : it was therefore resolved that a chest or cash of security should be established, in which every buyer was to deposit ten aspers for each pike of cloth he bought ; and if any of them should fail, the difference of this composition was to be made good to the French factor out of that common stock. In case there happened no bankruptcies amongst them, whatever might be the surplus of that cash, was, after four years, distributed among such as had deposited.

The drapers, after a short time, became refractory, and refused to comply with so oppressive a measure ; the rich found it ruinous to themselves, as it served for an encouragement to increase the number of buyers upon credit. This could not but hurt them greatly, they therefore came to a resolution not to purchase upon these terms ; the French were then obliged to change the order of this security, and to remove it from the drapers to themselves. They reduced the deposit money to fix aspers the pike on all the cloth they sold, which they deducted as factors from their principal account of sales ; and, according as the sum of that cash was greater or less, after deduction for loss by bankruptcies, they made from time to time a proportionable distribution to those principals.

There

There was, during many years, a profit of from 12 to 15 per cent. made on French cloth, in returning the produce in money or bills of exchange. The merchants in France, who had not sufficient capitals to wait such returns, often, upon the advice of sales, drew bills of exchange, payable at a short date. This method of proceeding occasioned the factors great perplexity; they were under a necessity of raising money to pay the bills at any rate, for which they paid not less than 10, 11, and even 12 per cent.

In order to throw off this burthen, they, with the approbation of the court and chamber of commerce at Marseilles, incorporated themselves into one body. The whole society was responsible for each individual, and these for each other. On this foundation the twelve houses at Constantinople, as a body, took up any sum at any time not less than

than 6000 dollars, the interest not to exceed 8 in the hundred.

This caisse or bank they called the *Caisse d'Emprunt*, or for loans, and constituted the other of security, as a collateral one to the lenders.

When any of their factors were unprovided with money, or had bills suddenly drawn upon them, they were sure to find an immediate supply from this fund, on depositing the draper's obligations and notes, and on paying 10 per cent. interest till they had replaced the whole.

The trade of Constantinople is universally carried on by Jews ; supported and countenanced by the government, they have usurped a sort of sovereign power, and claim it as their exclusive right to be the only brokers to the Frank nations : besides, as every dispute between Jew and Jew is, by a law established amongst them, cognizable

nizable by their own Jewish judge or Grand Rabbin, no redress can be expected in their frauds, as it is only from one Jew to another that such frauds are discoverable. Even when they are detected in the most enormous villainy, no proof can be obtained to bring them before a Turkish tribunal ; because one Jew will not give evidence against another in those courts. This is not all ; if for fraud or knavery they happen to be discharged the service of a Frank merchant, to whom they were brokers, those who succeed them, or such as do business in that house, must account with them for a share of their profits, as if they were still employed there. These are the immutable and oppressive laws of the Hebrew race in Turkey ; and all the credit and power of Christian ministers, since their first establishment in that empire, could neither
alter

alter or suppress them. Many attempts have been made to effect this, but all to no purpose.

About twenty years ago the French, upon the discovery of several notorious frauds of their Jew brokers, to the ruin of their masters, combined with the other European nations, to make an effort to drive them out of their service. This last attempt, however, proved as unsuccessful as all the former ; the French, thereupon, had recourse to another expedient for their security, this was to oblige their Jew brokers to deposit a certain sum for every bale of cloth they sold for them, out of which accumulated sum any fraud or failure committed by any of their brethren, was to be compensated to their employers.

The French trade has been highly promoted and invigorated by these regulations

gulations; and it is in a great measure owing to them that it has attained to its present flourishing state.

S E C T. VII.

Proposal for adopting some of the French regulations, especially with regard to the quality of the cloth.

DESPOTIC power sets government in motion, in many circumstances, by one single spring: an abuse, when known is immediately redressed, the work is soon done: when such a procedure tends to the good of the governed, they forget every bad consequence, which may result from the arbitrary exactions of capricious will.

The motions in the constitution of a free state, are of a more compli-

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cated nature ; many springs must be set a going, numbers of opinions and various interests reconciled ; much time is required ; a known abuse takes root, and is past redress before they come to a single resolution. Many of the French regulations in Turkey would be considered by Englishmen as oppressive ; consequently, of whatever importance the Turkey trade might be to the nation, if an individual should clamour, his noise would be sufficient to subvert and totally destroy it.

We shall, therefore, make it our chief study to find how far our commerce may be recoverable by industry or laws, and in what degree some of the French regulations may be adopted, consistently with our constitution.

As one of the first causes of the decay of our Levant trade was said to be the superior quality of the French cloth to
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the English, this should, of course, be our first consideration.

Attempts have been made in England to imitate the French cloth from large patterns, and from that of the yarn ; but the fineness of the materials, and of the spinning, rendered them abortive. Some, however, has been sent to Turkey of a quality not much inferior, but the price was so enormous that all the drapers were discouraged from buying it. I have been told that it could not be sold for less than ten-pence the pike above the French cloth, which, supposing the price to be two dollars and a half, would be near 14 per cent. If, however, we could once attain to the quality, there might be some hopes of our being able to reduce the price. Whether the essay made in Turkey was manufactured of Spanish wool I know not ; but I am almost sure we may import Spanish, or

Estremadura, or Barbary wool, as cheap as the French can in Languedoc: perhaps, indeed, it does not pass to the French manufacturer through so many hands as ours, such as the merchant, the Blackwell-hall factor, &c.; nor does their cloth make a like revolution to be exported. I fear the difference in price of the 14 per cent. arises from that cause. An opulent clothier who should import his own wool, might, very likely, be able to find that difference.

But might not clothiers reduce the quantity of wool in a piece of cloth, to the weight of the French piece? And if the materials are as fine or the same as the French, fingers or instruments might be found to reduce the yarn to their fineness.

Such difficulties as these are far from being unfurmountable by industry;

try ; repeated efforts will make the most perfect improvements.

Recourse might be had to many expedients to assist the industrious ; and though the French take particular care to keep their fabrics at Carcassonne secret, and suffer no stranger to approach them, we could, doubtless, by the same means which first introduced this manufacture, contrive to bring to perfection what requires only an imitation.

We are not, however, entirely tied down to the French quality of cloth ; if we could but recover the ancient standard of our own, exported forty years ago, and even within these twenty years, we might have great hopes of success : a few bales were at that time sent to Constantinople, and the drapers would have engaged to buy 300 bales a year of the same quality.

The quality of cloth manufactured twenty years ago in Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire, cannot be so totally forgotten as not to be recoverable: it must, indeed be acknowledged that either the progress of luxury, or the increase of the value of labour, has rendered their cloth much dearer since that time. But if workmen or manufacturers have quitted these for cheaper counties, and if these counties continue still to be too dear, why not remove further? If the North of England, or Wales will not enable us to reduce the price of our manufacture for foreign exportation, let us go further north or west, some corner may surely be found wherein we may supplant our rivals. Are we less loaded with taxes, and the several expences which attend living in towns, than our neighbours the Dutch? Before 1754 they did not
 sell

above 20 or 25 bales of cloth a year at Constantinople ; they now sell above 100, and their cloth-trade is estimated at Smyrna from 60 to 70,000 l. annually. So that they have found means to increase that trade immensely upon our decline.

Opposed in this branch of commerce by so many rivals, must not an English breast glow with the utmost ardour of emulation? If a government obstructed in its proceedings by the complicated springs, and confined by the happy limitations in favour of liberty, cannot lay the same restraints as despotism ; let every private person, let every individual unite his efforts to promote the happiness of the community of which he is a member. Let the manufacturing provinces, let every English artificer learn to encourage, without murmuring, their fellow-subjects of neighbouring kingdoms. Can

selfish jealousy so darken the minds of Englishmen, as to make them deprive the Scotch and Irish of an advantage, which by being thrown into the hands of our rivals, becomes the main support of their political strength and importance ?

Scotland is, doubtless, as capable of furnishing labour and industry as cheap for the cloth manufacture; as any part of France ; and much more so than Holland. The fact can be demonstrated in Ireland ; for the French, who sold their camlets at Lisbon 10 or 15 per cent. cheaper than the English, and thereby drove them out of that branch, are not able to vie with the Irish, who with their camlets, which they clandestinely convey to that market, undersell the French as much as the latter can the English. If therefore the assistance of English workmen should be found necessary for the cloth manufacture

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ture in those kingdoms, let them be supplied with such. When once they are initiated in the business, they will be able to proceed of themselves.

If in the last extremity no other means can be found, let those of our own counties in which the cloth manufacture is established and flourishes, contribute as they do in France, towards reducing the price of labour for cloth manufactures on the old standard for Turkey.

A standard has been formed by our statutes for the weight, length, and breadth of our cloth; additional laws might enforce these under severe penalties, and a proper inspection be established for every branch of that manufacture, and for every species fit for exportation to foreign markets.

An annual report should likewise be made to a committee of parliament, concerning the manner in which the inspectors have acquitted themselves, and the state of the fabrick.

Bad as the cloth now shipped for Turkey may be, if other aids to the trade which we shall mention, can be consistently given, it may be greatly retrieved, if not totally restored to its former flourishing state.

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S E C T. VIII.

Thoughts on restoring the exclusive charter.

CHanges and alterations in commerce are of so dangerous and pernicious a nature, that I would by no means propose new modelling the Levant company, or throwing it into a form more analogous to its first origin. I shall therefore only observe what should have been done, on the several changes it has undergone, and what may yet be done.

Commercial societies incorporated and united by charter, operate on the privileges granted them, conform their bye-laws to those privileges, and form a complete, uniform system; the whole therefore is connected with, and depends upon the parts. When a reformation is attempted, if the connection

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is broken by the mutation of one part, the whole runs the risk of being destroyed or greatly hurt.

When the parliament therefore resolved on a change in part of the Levant company's charter and regulations, they should have considered thoroughly the first foundation of the charter itself, determined on a renewal, and conformed to such grants as they thought suitable to the change intended, by which their bye-laws, which wanted a reform, might be properly regulated.

At the time that the merchants, who were citizens of London, obtained that charter, though noblemen's and gentlemen's sons were admitted into their society, they paid a valuable consideration, and subjected themselves to a constant expence of near 11,000 l. *per annum*, to be paid out of their own pockets, or out of a precarious trade, whether

whether they were gainers or the contrary; that sum, and under the Turkish government much more, sometimes, had been levied on their property. What had been given at the obtaining of the charter, was not the point to be considered according to strict law, tho' perhaps it was in equity; * but when what had been granted to the society united by charter, was given equally to others, and extended to the whole people of England, the holders had some right to a compensation, or, at least, that the public should take the whole of the charge, and the uncertain actions and claims, which the avarice and injustice of Turkish government might expose them to.

* In the war commenced in 1744, the old members of the Turkey company, paid for depredations by privateers with Minorca or Gibraltar commissions upwards of 10,000l.

This consideration, though obvious on the opening of the trade, never occurred, not even during its decline. However motives of justice and right have since influenced the administration to give a helping hand in parliament to save the remains of that trade, by allowing the company about one half of their fixed expence. If they had not taken this step, it is now demonstrable the merchants must have totally abandoned it, for even with that help they continue to be in debt. Besides these considerations, there was another more manifest one to be attended to. The old charter, as it then stood, was not totally exclusive, but the whole burthen of expence was to arise from two articles only, silk and mohair-yarn, out of a great number of the products of Turkey; as for example, cotton, which is almost as important an article as either
of

of the other two, goats wool, fruit, and drugs, all which may be imported from Italy. Hence the Dutch, Italians, Jews, and Armenians, supply us with these commodities; and, as I have observed already, prevent us, since the quarantine act, from importing almost any of them from Turkey.

It has indeed been alledged, that a company which has the whole power of trade in its own hands, may direct and confine its several articles, whether of import or export, to its own peculiar advantage; and that of consequence the national interest may most essentially suffer where manufactures are concerned, and that trade should be free and unconstrained; above all, that there should be no obstructions to a superabundant supply of all first materials for manufactures.

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This doctrine was specious at the time of the changes in the Levant company, but was afterwards found to be groundless; for as every man was at liberty to import as he thought most for his interest; and cottons in particular are a commodity of sure sale, and which vessels of burthen, such as the annual ships, required to fill up, the other articles of commerce were never sufficient, insomuch that cotton and fruit were generally the basis of the cargo.

However even admitting the supply to have been stagnated, that reason ceased in part on the opening of the navigation; and totally, when every man in the kingdom might purchase his admittance into the company, and of consequence be free to trade, upon paying 20 l. And are not the whole body of merchants of England, and the cotton manufacturers able to supply

ply the kingdom and themselves, as abundantly, and at as cheap a rate as foreigners? It appears, indeed, to be self-evident, that the nation must be losers, and pay for the Turkey commodities dearer by any foreign indirect importation, than by a direct; freight from Turkey and Leghorn, charges of landing and re-shipping, must be found on the sale, and must of consequence fall heavy on the consumer in England.

The British merchant, or cotton manufacturer, who imports cottons, must purchase chiefly with the produce of our own woollen manufactures, or by bartering them against cotton; they cannot purchase with bullion, money, or bills of exchange; they are under oaths and penalties not to transgress; and every factor keeps so watchful an eye upon all his brethren, that the

least fraud is sure of being immediately detected.

Foreigners purchase with money, or the produce of foreign commodities; they likewise ship cotton, goat's-wool, fruit, and drugs on foreign bottoms to any part in Italy, from thence re-ship them to England, and pay themselves with a considerable advantage.

Let us now consider the immense disadvantage and real loss, which must result from such a trade to the nation. We shall begin with the article of cottons: some compute the annual exportation to Leghorn for our market at 10,000 sacks, others at 8000. If we admit the latter, which seems to come nearest to the truth, and estimate the sack at 90 dollars, the first cost in Turkey would amount to seven hundred and twenty thousand dollars, or
90,000 l.

90,000 l. sterling ; if we rate the profit at 20 per. cent. it would be 18,000 l. carried out of the nation in specie. But if we add the loss of the cloth, or British commodities, with which the English merchant must purchase these cottons, Levant company's duties, commission to the English factor, and difference of navigation, which the foreigners gain, the whole real loss on cottons alone might amount to 120,000 l. nay, to 150,000 l. sterling a year, besides the invaluable loss of industry in our woollen manufactures, or to the hands employed in shipping other commodities for that purchase.

Goats wool, for the making of hats, has been likewise an article of return of great value, and proportionably as ruinous to England as that of cottons. For it is a notorious fact that many Greeks and Armenians, now in

Turkey, prepare that commodity for our supply, and ship it to Leghorn, though they were formerly employed as day-labourers by our factors.

Fruit, such as raisins and figs, are the only proper flooring * for our ships from Turkey; the loss of this article carries with it the same ill consequences as the others, with an additional real detriment to our navigation.

This vast loss can by no means be compensated by the profit of two or three English houses at Leghorn, which now share in that trade, nor can the payment of the 20 l. to render them free of the Levant company, hurt them.

The circumstance of ships being admitted on clean or foul bills of health, would not affect the trade as much on

* The flooring is that part of the cargo which is immediately stowed upon the ballast.

an exclusive charter, as the law does at present. The pretence of a plague would no longer have any existence on motives of mere interest; and English navigation would be secure from receiving any farther obstruction from artifice and tricking. We may even presume, on good grounds, that such an exclusive charter would not only oblige the Turkish dealers to supply themselves with our manufactures, but likewise enable the consumers in England to procure Turkish commodities at a much cheaper rate. For when the dealers in cotton, fruit, goats wool, &c. find no purchasers, or so very few of any other nation, that three quarters of their stock remain upon hand, they must of necessity recur to our factors for a sale, and barter for English cloth or other goods, at such a price as a command of the market will oblige them: it will then

even become the chief business of the Turkish dealers, to search every corner of the empire for the sale and consumption of English cloth, however bad the quality of it may be; so that we may see not only a considerable extension of commerce, but our rivals outdone by means of the Turkish subjects.

Thus we may from facts, and strong presumptive arguments, clearly evince the necessity and importance of granting the Levant company a full and exclusive charter for importing every commodity, the growth, manufacture, or produce of Turkey; or else of adopting part of the French policy, by laying a duty of 20 l. per cent. on the value of all such importations from any indirect port whatsoever.

S E C T. IX.

*Inconveniencies of the quarantine act, with
general reflections on the plague in the
Levant.*

THOUGH it be evident that by bringing our cloth to a standard; or in some measure leaving that manufacture to the industry of the merchants, if an exclusive charter were granted them, the Turkey commerce would be greatly invigorated, and a new ardour and spirit of emulation excited among the traders; yet we cannot without removing that great and weighty impediment, occasioned by the quarantine act, ever hope to bring it to that flourishing state we should aim at. For we may justly apprehend, that though the merchants may be secured from being imposed on by

forged accounts of the plague, and the little arts of their rivals in trade, they will still be distrustful of their envy, and of the contingent consequences of a distemper so frequent in that country, which may expose them, though in a less degree, to see their property tied up from year to year, their ships return empty, and the circulation of trade interrupted.

The Dutch, who are as wise and provident a people as any in Europe, love to enjoy life as much as we do; and if we consider their natural equanimity, they may be perhaps justly said to love and enjoy it more; they however have not better apparent precautions than we against the plague,

They have acquired knowledge from experience; we should endeavour to follow their example, but we decline it. With all our boasted wisdom

dom and sagacity, we are eternally tormenting ourselves with vain and groundless fears of remote or imaginary evils ; sometimes our peace of mind is disturbed by a frantic paroxysm in religion, sometimes by a fit in politics, and sometimes by the fears of death.

The plague was never brought into these kingdoms immediately from Turkey. The Dutch never received the contagion directly from thence ; they have admitted ships into their ports, either with clean or foul bills of health, and have found themselves, as we may, always safe.

A slight attention to facts would make this matter clear to the cool reason of a Dutchman ; but, I fear, it will not have the same effect upon the mind of an Englishman, blinded with passion and prejudice. The plague cannot be denied to be contagious, but
not

not to that degree which has been represented by some, and most are apt to imagine it.

All communication of the infection must arise either from men or merchandize; with regard to the former, when there is the least suspicion of plague in any sea-port town of Turkey or any neighbouring village, the masters of ships, the merchants, and the consul are particularly careful and vigilant to keep the vessel at a proper distance in the port, and not to suffer any of the ship's company to go on shore; at the same time they will not permit a living soul to come a-board, or any goods susceptible of infection to approach the vessel. All seamen are strictly forbid to go near it; and, to do them justice, they punctually obey the order: for when the fear of that disease is once infused into their minds, they dread it more than a wreck, or a cannon-ball.

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The Levant company's orders, both with regard to men and merchandize before shipping, to prevent infection, have been always strictly observed in Turkey; when they had their general ships, their seamen were under such command, that they considered themselves as inhabitants of the vessel; there scarce appeared a new face on board from year to year; they were most of them men that had families at home, and kept a watchful eye over each other's conduct, to prevent irregularity and infection, insomuch that from the first origin of the charter, not one of them ever died of the plague. Orders of the same nature were as effectually enforced, with regard to merchandise, and as punctually executed as at a Venetian or French quarantine; airing, purifying, and every possible precaution was taken before the goods were shipped: and
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it is to be hoped we may equally depend upon the execution of the same orders which subsist at present.

I am very sure we may rely on the consuls, who are inflexibly exact, and would not fail to give immediate advice to the government or company, in case of the least infraction.

The Dutch have pursued the same plan, and remain in full security under that long-experienced regulation, however imperfect their own may be at home.

The longer men have been confined together in the stagnated air of a ship's cabin, the more susceptible will they be of receiving an infection, by so close a communication with each other. A voyage from Turkey to England is seldom performed in less than two months ; sometimes it takes a much longer time : contagion in a ship must therefore destroy two thirds,

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or, at least, one half of the crew. Upon her arrival any officer who approaches her in a boat, which may be done with great safety, can easily ascertain the state of the men with regard to health and sickness; he may muster them on the ship's side, examine their number, and judge how many are necessary to navigate the vessel, and how many be wanting for that purpose.

Let the master exhibit the agreement between him and the ship's company on his departure; thence will appear the number of his first complement, and how far they are deficient at his arrival, whence degrees of suspicion may arise with regard to health or sickness, and proper measures pursued accordingly.

When we are certain of the health of the men, we may, I presume, make ourselves easy with regard to any fears
which

which may arise from the merchandize; for, besides the precautions which, as I have already observed, are taken in Turkey, as effectual methods are taken of treating those productions, and from the manner our merchants or factors are supplied with them in that country, we may depend upon great security against infection.

The sorts of merchandize thought to be most susceptible of conveying the contagion are silks, cottons, mohair-yarn, and goats-wool; even the most timorous cannot work up their imaginations so far as to find it in box, wood, fruit, or drugs.

Silks are produced in Syria, chiefly at or about Antioch, some at Tripoly, and Latachia, a few bales in the plains of Cyprus, and some at Brussia in Asia Minor.

The silk growers, whether Christians or Turks, have, as I have been informed,

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ed, distinct apartments for that purpose ; they do not lye in the rooms where the filk-worms spin ; nor where the filk is separated, divided, made up in skanes, and packed in the bales, so that in the whole process there seems little probability, that the most subtile infection can be communicated to the filks.

But even granting such infection to be possible or probable, we have still stronger reasons for security ; for we may safely affirm, that the plague scarce ever rages in those parts of the country where the filk is made ; namely, at and about Antioch, at Tripoly and Latachia, Cyprus, or Brussja. An accident may, indeed appear once in 15 or 20 years ; but the people immediately fly from their habitations ; and as they are generally Christians who buy that commodity from the growers, and who are a sort of agents between the feller and
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the buyer, their fears prevent them from approaching men or merchandize, from whence they suspect so much as a possibility of receiving infection.

Cottons and mohair-yarn, which are the products of Asia Minor, are exactly in the same predicament with the silk. The parts where the cottons grow, as at Kirkagatih, &c. and Angora, where the mohair-yarn is spun and packed, are very seldom infected with the plague. Goat-wool is cleaned and packed by Greeks and Armenians, and, formerly, in many of the English factor's own warehouses; but never in time even of a suspicion of a pestilential disorder.

A general observation taken from fact may have more weight with the reader, than any thing that has been hitherto alledged.

All sorts of merchandize susceptible of infection pass through the hands of our English merchants or factors at Aleppo, Smyrna, or the places from whence they are shipped ; they are generally examined strictly by them, or by their servants. The desire of self-preservation is as strongly implanted in the breast of an Englishman, and actuates him as powerfully, abroad as at home ; he would not surely venture the loss of his life by infection, if there were the least grounds for such an apprehension. He must, doubtless, be certain that he runs no risk upon such occasions. May not, then, those who receive them in England many months after, have the same certainty of their being free from danger ?

The plague, as I have already observed, has never yet been introduced into England or Holland immediately

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from Turkey. The experience of centuries is sufficient, and carries conviction with it. There is not, indeed, upon record, nor has a single living witness ever related an instance of an English factor, or servant's dying of the plague at any of the sea-port towns, or in any other part of Syria, or Asia Minor, and but one only at Constantinople, in almost a century; though the disease very frequently rages in that metropolis.

If the plague were as contagious as many speculative minds are apt to imagine it, the precautions taken by the Dutch and by us, by quarantines, would rather facilitate its entry. Our apprehensions seem to be occasioned more by goods than by men; yet it is from the latter we should dread contagion most. The observation of facts in the rise and progress of this disease, confirms the truth of this maxim. The

men belonging to a ship suspected of being infected should not so soon be admitted to communication with others ; and they should not be allowed to land, or mix with the people on board of other ships or boats. The length of the voyage to Turkey, and good precautions taken in that country, have been, and may again be the means of preserving both the Dutch and us. If the commodities are the nidus of infection, what avails the practice in ours and most other quarantines of only cutting the sides of sacks or bales, to purify and cleanse the internal parts of the merchandize from infection ? The air is, no doubt, an admirable purifier ; but then it must have a space of sufficient extent to act in ; the utmost power of its elasticity and of its penetrating quality can hardly be supposed capable of reaching infection in the most minute particles of

a skane of filk ; nay, perhaps of a mere thread surrounded and compassed by numberless others in the compact center of a large bale, or in the inmost recess of a sack of cotton. I am inclined to think that our fears have exceeded all bounds, and filled us with apprehensions of the plague, when it can have no existence ; for, when once our minds are worked up to a superstitious dread of that fatal malady, reason seems no longer to have any power over us, and we become the slaves of vain and imaginary terrors.

Imperfect as ours and the Dutch quarantines are, we have, by means of them, been hitherto preserved from a Turkey plague ; but if we would seek farther security to dissipate the terrors of anxious and timorous minds ; (and it may become absolutely necessary,

fary, should that disease ever reach our neighbourhood) regular quarantines and lazarets may be established, with new laws, suitable to the danger. The erecting of buildings and providing proper conveniencies is insufficient: the execution of the laws is the grand and essential article ; some of which it may, perhaps, be a difficult matter to reconcile to our free constitution ; for, except vigilant, uncorrupt, and resolute officers have full authority to inflict immediate death, as in the quarantines of other nations, ours must prove defective, and our safety will depend on the most precarious contingencies. Suppose, for instance, a desperate person infected with this malady, breaks out, and makes his escape in a fit of phrenzy and distraction ; if once he succeeds, he will be sure to find houses ready to receive

him, and when he mixes with society the infection is communicated. What laws can reach the delinquent? He dies, and the mischief is done.

If, indeed, we could persuade the officers or guard to seize and fetter a fugitive, which may be done in the open air perhaps with little danger, the difficulty ceases. However, as men can never entirely divest themselves of their fears, I doubt very much whether this expedient could be trusted to.

S E C T. X.

Regulations to prevent long credits, to secure the merchants, ease the factors, and to settle the Turkey trade on a solid basis.

FROM the foregoing facts and observations, we may justly conclude that, if we would conform to the Dutch practice of admitting ships from Turkey *, on foul or clean bills of health, and grant an exclusive char-

* Ships are admitted, though infected with the plague, at Marfeilles, Venice, and Leghorn; nay, it is notorious that when a ship has been known to be infected with the plague and refused admittance into many ports, that the Venetians have dispatched vessels after her to bring her to perform quarantine in their lazarettos, in order to prevent her from getting by surprise into some creek or port, where she might spread the infection.

ter to the Levant company, their trade would greatly rise, and the merchants export cloth and all other goods readily, in the expectation, and almost sure prospect of quick returns. The only difficulty of long credit, which they have already put up with, will be in part removed, at least at the sea-port towns, as Smyrna, Aleppo, &c. Since most of their commerce will be carried on, as it is at present, by barter, and from hand to hand. But as Constantinople is the port which must supply them with money, and from whence there are no returns to barter, some internal regulation should be made there, to ease the traders, at least in part of that burthen and risk.

It would, perhaps, be incompatible with our constitution to imitate the French in their limited regulations of divisions and sales of certain quantities,

ties, and at stated times, the latter of which regulations was most probably formed on our plan of supply once a year in annual ships.

But, as trade is likely to revive upon the removal of the grand impediments, the Levant company should be obliged to bind themselves, by a bye-law, to see that their factors in Turkey take the same precautions that the French regulations enjoin ; lists of the drapers should be made out, their conduct and living well scrutinised, and a judgment formed of the extent of credit which may be given to any one man, from one bale of cloth or shalloon to twenty. A regulation should likewise be made that on every bale of merchandize sold, the factor should deposit a certain sum in a common cash, properly secured, to answer for all bankruptcies and failures,

lures, which may happen on the total of the sales ; and the credit should be fixed to a certain time, exceeding even the longest allotted by other nations ; the ballance of the cash to be made up at the expiration of the term, with proportional payment, to the principals.

In case objections should be made to such a plan, recourse may be had to another, perhaps more agreeable to the genius of the traders.

I cannot but think our cloths might be easily reduced to the old standard ; what has happened once, may happen again ; there are, doubtless, some men still living, who have been concerned in manufacturing that species, and selling it to the merchants : I have been told that the India company export some cloth of a quality not inferior to that ; nay, I have heard a complaint

plaint made by our Turkey traders, that the above company had engrossed all the looms, which reason they ever alledged as an apology, that they could not send cheaper and better cloth to Turkey.

Let the traders of the Levant company now agree amongst themselves, form the proper assortments of cloth for Constantinople, and expressly order 1500 cloths, which make 300 bales of the best quality as to wool, spinning, length, breadth, and weight. That exported by the India company might very probably answer the end.

Any number of the members of the company might subscribe; and in case more subscribers should offer, they might curtail of the quantity intended for each individual, and admit them. For as what is proposed as an essay, is intended to promote the general benefit

nefit of trade, they fhould endeavour to affift each other ; for this purpofe a fubfcription is eafy, and a proper divifion of the number of bales allowed afterwards to each fubfcriber.

The whole of thefe three hundred bales of cloth fhould be configned under one mark to all the factory at Conftantinople, and, upon their arrival, be depofited in one warehouse ; this warehouse fhould be kept open at a ftated hour. It fhould be duly attended by the merchants, brokers, and fervants, and by the Levant company's *Cancellier* *, as a public officer.

* A name given to a public officer paid by the Levant company, whom, if the ambaffador thinks proper, he may employ as his fecretary at Conftantinople ; he who draws up any public act or deed between any of the Englifh factors, or other Frank nations ; the two principal Englifh confuls, who are very ufeful magiftrates in the Levant ; and the firft draggoman, or fuch of them who are the ableft,

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The books of accounts of the whole transactions, or any letters with order from the principals, should be deposited in the same warehouse, under the care of the *Cancellier*, who shall exhibit them for inspection to any of the factory whenever required.

As payments become due, each factor should immediately receive his share according as he himself, or his friends are concerned.

Full liberty should be given the factory to sell at time, or discount, as they may think most advantageous for their principals.

and generally employed, should have better pay than they actually receive; they remain on an old establishment, when all necessaries of life were a third, some a half cheaper than at present, so that when they are burthened with families, they are obliged to run in debt, or spend of their own small fortunes; which has been eminently the case at Smyrna, and would be at Aleppo, if it were not for some other emoluments.

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Each factor should have his commission, brokerage, &c. on the amount of his friend's cloth, as if it were immediately consigned to himself only : and he should invest that sum in such a manner as directed by his friend.

From the above regulation will result many considerable advantages, which cannot be expected from the other ; the Jew-brokers will not have the same opportunities of imposing upon their employers. Drapers may be chosen, and payments punctually made, for they will prefer purchasing our cloth to that of the French, as our wholesale prices of the different articles are not known to the retail-buyers, whilst the French are ; so that the draper's profits on English cloth would be greater, a circumstance which would induce them to encourage our sales.

Long

Long credits may be avoided ; but if bankruptcies should happen, the loss will be shared by so many, that it will not fall heavy upon individuals.

I am credibly informed, that the most considerable drapers and Jew-brokers would have engaged for the success of this plan about 20 years ago, and were extremely solicitous to have it carried into execution.

Upon the whole, it is a clear case, that we are reduced to the alternative, either of making an effort to revive the Turkey commerce, by all or part of the means that have been suggested ; or suffering it to sink and decay upon the feeble support of a few bales of mahouts, or fine cloths intended for the use of the most rich and opulent inhabitants of Constantinople, and on some shalloons sent thither, and to Smyrna, as the French have not yet learned

learned the art of imitating either of these articles. How long is the trade likely to continue upon so precarious a foundation? For as one essential article of the present support, the shal-lons, was accidentally discovered about 15 years ago by a well-wisher to commerce at Constantinople, who roused the industry of the merchants to a trial; some such accident may be near at hand to produce an imitation of both articles by the industrious French.

If ever they should succeed herein, the utter annihilation of our Turkey trade must inevitably and irretrievably follow.

T H E E N D.

